



Money,
divorce and
McCartney's
MADWOMAN
P.78

**EAT RAW
MEAT**
P.91



**DEATH AND BETRAYAL ON
THE TOP OF MOUNT EVEREST**
P.30

At terror
camp
with the
squabbling
Khadr boys
P.28

CANADA'S
MAGAZINE
OF THE
YEAR

NOV.
27th
2006

MACLEAN'S

EXCLUSIVE REPORT We work as hard as Americans and earn 20% less. Australia has taken our place at world trade talks and Spain wants our spot at the G8. This year, 135 economies will grow faster than ours, even Kazakhstan's. It's time for action. P.40

HOW TO FIX CANADA

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**WILL
THE TORIES
PICK A FIGHT
WITH CHINA? P.18**

NOT
ALL WEEKEND
GETAWAYS END
UP AS CHAPTER
HEADINGS.

TELL BETTER STORIES

The 2007 Nissan Pathfinder. With a 252 HP 4.0L V6 engine, 6000 lb towing capacity, and a third row of seats, you can make a pretty good conclusion it's a vehicle so capable, it'll make the difference between two head for one before you. *Please tell me that one again, please.



THE 2007 NISSAN PATHFINDER



THIS WEEK

Calendar

10 CAPITAL DIARY

Michel Ruppel on the PM getting trapped behind a couch, how a bottle of Ensure helped stall softwood lumber and two low-level MPs planning their outfits.

12 PAUL WELLS

Stephen "Shining Violet" Harper's been avoiding tough issues and brooding over every snub. Where's the guy who said: "Harold, I can take a punch"?

13 ANDREW POTTER

Here's the bad news: multi-culturalism makes us fear everyone, both different and familiar. Here's the really bad news: there's almost nothing we can do about it.

National

15 CHINA RULES

A nasty cultural divide leaves Harper without a stance on China. Is it a vital trading partner or a human rights menace that leaves a stain on Canada's good name?

22 REBEL WITHOUT A WAR

Francisco Jaurer put the army to protect Canada's fight in Afghanistan. But can a soldier who was never destined for the war be called a conscientious objector?

World

24 PURSUING THE PARTY

Some U.S. conservatives see the mid-term loss as a chance to rejuvenate the Republican party.

25 SHIA VS. SHIA

Iraq's Shia militias are turning on each other in a power play that is further destabilizing a country already teetering on the brink of civil war.

MACLEAN'S

VOLUME 110 NUMBER 47, NOVEMBER 27, 2006 - \$AGE 180C

2 From the Editors 4 Mail Bag

9 Seven Days

16 Interview: Muhammad Yarus trials to Jonathan Gathhouse

NOV. 27-DEC. 4, 2006



P.92

THE BACK PAGES

76 Media

Sei Paul's better divorce is the U.K.'s most rapid in decades.

84 Slugs

The megastud left pages against imaginary "thecons."

88 Film

Christopher Guest a back with the anti-Borat comedy.

92 Music

Two Menonites rock the stage and the party.

98 Slugs

Niche musicals offer something for everyone—except critics.

91 Taste

How do you take your chicken breast? Raw, please.

92 Homosexual

A tribute to K-Fed and D-Ram: icons of incompetence.

94 Accommodated List

Saratoga-wedged to wed, and on to the dying art of film.

98 The End

Alan J. Gagne, 1952-2006

World (continued)

26 INSIDE AL-QAEDA

A French spy recounts his time in Khalid bin al-Fatih's main training camp, where he met two young, scrawny young men.

Profile

28 AN INFAMOUS CLIME

Trail of a catfish and rumours of bribes plague Stephen Smith's plans to summit Everest. And then there's the lack of a photo he cries consistently.

Business

40 COVER STORY FIXING CANADA

A Conference Board of Canada report reveals that we need to work smarter, not harder, if we want to reclaim our status as a global economic leader.

48 HEIRS OF WOOD

Canada's natural resources are back in demand, but a stagnant regulatory system and loads of red tape are holding our forestry back.

52 MOVING TO THE CITY

With 80 per cent of our population living in cities, governments need to spend more time and money on our big urban centres.

Society

72 HOT BOWL OF LOVE

Fresh, homemade and delivered for free. A Calgary businessman knows the way to someone's heart: soup.

Newsweek

73 NORTHERN STARS

The wisest talents of Canadian artists recognized at home and abroad. Also a history of Vancouver's Stanley Park. Kate Blanchett's new job, and an up-and-coming Montreal artist with a witeword affinity.

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The sanofi-aventis Group is known for its long tradition of research and major discoveries in oncology, cardiovascular disease and diabetes, with the development of insulin adapted to specific patient needs



Sanofi-aventis: working towards the well-being of Canadian patients



Sanofi-aventis employees take pride in their company's mission: together, and in collaboration with their health-care partners, they are contributing to bringing innovative drugs to market, and ensuring that Canadian patients have access to these drugs.

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sanofi aventis

Improving health, every day

The sanofi-aventis Canadian affiliate, based in Laval, Quebec, employs more than 1,100 people across the country. It has a patient-oriented vision and devotes its efforts to the development of services aimed at the prevention and management of cardiovascular disease, cancer and metabolic disorders such as obesity and diabetes.

As Jeffrey Silveira, the company's president in Canada, explains, "Our organization has been totally restructured so that we can make our vision into operational conditions. We have therefore redefined as our main two specific areas and designed our structure to give us the operational flexibility wanted in the field. This allows us to design our activities to meet the real needs of patients and health care partners, by offering them innovative solutions that go beyond drugs and can include a number of services."

The Group is known for its long tradition of research and major discoveries in oncology, cardiovascular disease (especially prevention of thrombosis) and diabetes, with the development of insulin adapted to specific patient needs. In the field, a large percentage of the company's activities involves patient education, through a number of programs developed in collaboration with physicians, pharmacists and nurses, to ensure that patients have the fullest possible understanding of their disease and its treatment. In keeping with Canada's reputation for ethical research, the Canadian affiliate boasts one of the Group's largest ethical research units and has earmarked \$25 million of its budget this year for its clinical research programs in this country. Still, M. Silveira does not view health as a quarter of research programs in funding. "We don't see our role as limited to the discovery of medicines and the marketing of drugs. We view ourselves first and foremost as a partner in health care with an essential role to play in facilitating access to medications and contributing to disease prevention. Each time our efforts lead to a concrete product, we are potentially changing the lives of thousands of Canadians and hundreds of thousands of people all over the world. We believe whenever we find a better importance in health care, and that's why we are developing numerous partnerships with universities, research centres and hospitals."



different premises as we can continue to focus on innovation and its importance to health and on the need for patients to have access to new drugs while taking into account the economic and regulatory realities," says M. Silveira. "The pharmaceutical industry offers high-tech jobs for graduates of Canadian universities and we hope to be able to continue providing a platform for developing human capital here in Canada. This means that Canada must continue to be competitive and attractive, not only for clinical research but for market opportunities as well. The rapid listing of drugs or patentable formulas and fast, reasonable pricing are essential to the success and development of the industry in Canada and consequently to its maximum contribution to the areas of jobs and investment."

In the future, sanofi-aventis in Canada will continue to focus essentially on the pursuit of innovation and the continual improvement of access to effective therapeutic solutions that are safe and easy to use. The company says it is fully committed to its value, but is also adapting and constantly evolving, supported by strong results oriented research to R. 100 dedicated to the by its credo: "Improve health, every day."



"The pharmaceutical industry offers high-tech jobs for graduates of Canadian universities, and we hope to be able to continue providing a platform for developing human capital here in Canada. This means that Canada must continue to be competitive and attractive, not only for clinical research but for market opportunities as well."

Jeffrey Silveira

Of course the economic climate and rising health care costs are important considerations in the company's choices. Among Canada's premises, Quebec has tentatively provided a favorable environment for the pharmaceutical industry and we hope this will continue. We are working closely with the governments at the

GRENADA

MAIL BAG

'I loathe being forced to witness these symbols of male violence and oppression'



AMBROSE should head back to high school

brave himself will be long dead if everyone on earth hasn't already died from one of global warming's milder effects). In fact, her guess might as well rely on the fact that the world's very limited oil supply will run out in 50 years. Finally Ambrose had better forward to take my Grade 9 geography course and learn all about global warming and how we must act sooner rather than later, she would have created a plan worth its weight in ordered confusion right now.

A MATTER OF FAITH

RECENTLY, YOUR piece criticizing the banning of burkas and niqabs in public in some places in Europe ("The real meaning of cultural assimilation," from the Editors, Nov. 6), thank you are either missing the point or are reluctant to state it. Telephone, email and letters notwithstanding, when I am conversing in person, I should be able to see the face of the human being in front of me. What would happen to me if I went to the bank wearing a mask? Am I being superficial? Surely, there is a difference between a burka and a full face covering.

Henry & Graham, Edmonton

YOU DIDN'T TELL the real story behind Muslim women wearing the all-enveloping black clothing that shrouds them from the gaze of

non-Muslims. Although Muslim women may protest that these are their parents' or choice and they wear them for religious reasons, the ugly truth is that they were designed by men who treat women as chattels and force their womenfolk to wear them. Muslim women in France who refused to wear the veil have reported that they have been savagely beaten for doing so by their male relatives. I loathe being forced to witness these symbols of male violence and oppression, and would be very glad to see such clothing banned altogether. Canada has Charter rights and men and women are equal. Anyone who disagrees with that philosophy should stay away.

James M. Andrews, Seattle, B.C.

WHAT'S IN A NAME

YOUR WRITER Michael Prueksa is seriously off base with his comment that only a federal government bureaucracy could have come up with the name "Canadian House Debt Survey" ("Gathering dust," National, Nov. 13). A real top level bureaucrat would have invented something like "Canadian Occupied Dwelling Place Visible Permeability Matter Collection Initiative," and taken several months, a commitment of at least \$5, and three levels of review to do it.

Daniel Wisniewski, Edmonton

IN PASSING

Jack Palance, 77, once regularly played playing, racing types in dramas as well as comedies, such as 1991's *City Slickers*. He starred in *Shogun*, where he replaced Melon Brandt in *A Samurai's Name*. His reputation grew with the 1995 film version of *The Big Red One*, about a Jewish movie star with a career on the way down. Late in life he gained a renewed profile in a string of Ken L. Ration dog food commercials.

Markus Wolf, 65, spokesman for East Germany who scored a major coup by placing an agent near West German chancelier Willy Brandt. Brandt was forced to resign in 1974 after the spy was exposed. Following Germany's reunification, Wolf fled to Russia, but he was later returned to the West for trial. He received a six-year suspended sentence. Last week a Russian Defence Ministry newspaper lavishly praised him as "this wonderful, steady man."

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7 DAYS



A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF NANCY PELOSI

After last week's U.S. mid-term elections, the California Democrat is poised to serve as the first female Speaker of the House. Pelosi pledged to lead the most "honest, most open and most ethical Congress in history." Last Thursday, she banished with President George W. Bush, during which the two agreed to seek out common ground. On Monday, a man was charged with molesting 10-year-olds to Pelosi and others, including Jon Stewart. The same day, Pelosi's sixth-grade field, Abby, was born.

Good news

Cleanup crew

Pope Benedict XVI will meet with top Vatican officials to discuss lifting the ex libet requirement for priests who wish to marry, or those who have already married and wish to be ordained. The issue of clerical celibacy, often identified as a contributing factor to sexual abuse within the Church, was revived in September after Archbishop Giovanni D'Ercole of Zambia was elected moderator for appointing four married men as bishops.

Open for debate

Pope Benedict XVI will meet with top Vatican officials to discuss lifting the ex libet requirement for priests who wish to marry, or those who have already married and wish to be ordained. The issue of clerical celibacy, often identified as a contributing factor to sexual abuse within the Church, was revived in September after Archbishop Giovanni D'Ercole of Zambia was elected moderator for appointing four married men as bishops.

Infinite mess

Millions hailed the resignation of U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld as vital step toward a resolution in Iraq. So far, however, the department hasn't seemed to bring Iraq's state of security into sharper focus. Last week, amid growing violence, the country's parliament extended its state of emergency by another 30 days. The next day, Iraq's health minister said that a total of 100,000 civilians had already been killed in the war. And early this week,

Bad news

southern states in Japan. More than 500 patients, mostly children, have reported episodes of delirium, hallucinations and other abnormal behavior while being treated with the drug. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration says its direct relationship between the two drugs and the episodes has been proven. Still, the FDA is adding a new warning to the label and advising parents to be vigilant when treating children with the drug.

Memories disturbed

The new director of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum in Poland is preparing to move the site, making it more appealing to a young generation of visitors. But Holocaust survivors fear that demolishing the camp will undermine its purpose as a reminder of the atrocities endured by millions of Jews at the hands of the Nazis during the Second World War. "You must have the feeling as it warthen, shudder and the look," said Noah Flug of the Center of Organizations of Holocaust Survivors in Israel. "It is important not to change." In Amsterdam, city council determined this week that the ancient chocolate tree Anne Frank once admired was finally from the area in which her family had during the war is discussed and must be cut down.

War on snacks

The possibility of contamination and malnutrition is placing our favorite fatty foods at risk. Last week, after Maple Leaf Foods' self-insured system caught on company property, the company pulled several pork products from store shelves. Then Herby recalled over two dozen chocolate products that may have been exposed to salmonella. ■

FACE OF THE WEEK



MODEL OF COURAGE: Former M.L.B. Pan Tilius, who died fighting in Afghanistan in 2004, was honored with a statue in Arizona.

Artfully dodged

Only after Jean Post's death did auctioneers realize that the two small paintings of a child hanging from a tree behind a door in her tiny home in Oxford, England, were panels from a miniature altarpiece owned by Florence, master of the Los Angeles and valued at roughly \$1.5 million. The news came days after the Queen's The Gallery of Santa Peter and An drew was finally identified as a real Caravaggio, worth more than \$10 million. The royal master piece had apparently stayed in a second in place before taking its rightful place in the sun.

dozens of employees at a university building in Baghdad were kidnapped in a meticulously organized daytime raid, and freed the same day. Five top Iraqi officers were arrested. Meanwhile, Iran's role in the war is not over. In Germany, U.S. civil rights activists filed a suit against him, charging him with war crimes against 12 military prisoners.

On the downside

Thailand, the island commonly used to treat influenza, has been noted in being one of the few drugs that could potentially combat swine flu, but doctors

MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON TRAILER PARK TALK AND MPS WHO LIKE TO DRESS ALIKE



MP MITCHEL RAPHAEL, Cape Breton

TRAILER PARK BOYS LIVE UP TO SOFTWOOD LUMBER DEBATE

Last week, NDP MP Mitchel Raphael (left) had his best to hold up the Caesars

atives' softwood lumber deal by introducing nearly 100 animal scenes at the standing comment for environmental trade. Some NDP strategists thought Raphael might need coffee pills to keep going, but in the end the date ended MP work to coordinate cups of coffee — well, and a bottle of the chocolate nutrition drink Lumina, which he planted on the table

by the end. The session soon became lively. When Cape Breton Liberal MP Mark Eby took a bathroom break, he was told: "You're off! You're off! You're off!"

Christmas card list. Julian himself had other NDP MPs sit in for him when nature called. The British Columbia was planning to keep everyone from there 9 a.m. until midnight, but the conference manager to run things through in under 12 hours. Still, things got glidy away from the microphones. So the MPs continued jokingly referring to the committee chair, Alberta Tory Lynn Stoltz, as "bubbles," because of his resemblance to a character on Trailer Park Boys (which also has another chance to succeed Julian). Referring to the poisoned atmosphere, one MP, quoting the show, quipped: "Julian, this is no place to raise kiddy cats."

THE PRESS GALLERY SHOULD TAKE LESSONS

When a dozen or so members of the Canadian Alliance met with Stephen Harper, they tried to lobby him on several issues, such as keeping the Canada Milk



CANADA'S BUSINESS (see the right)

PHOTOGRAPHY BY MICHEL RAPHAEL, ANDREW VAUGHAN/CP PHOTO

Share Scholarship Foundation going. When the meeting was over, there was a photo op with Harper's official chamberlain. But the students were not done with the PM. "We got him looked behind the couch," said CANS's national director, Philippe Ouellette. "There was a photo being done and [after] he was trying to get away and suddenly he was in there." It might have helped that one of the students, Kevin Mallory, was a former football player for St. John's University. Ouellette says the students managed to squeeze in about five more questions with Harper. Final score: students 1, press gallery, 0.

NOTICE ANYTHING UNUSUAL ABOUT THESE MPS' OUTFITS? Eby's Quebec MPs Mark Kotto and Caroline St-Hilaire are the perfect parliamentary match



BLUET QUEBECUS MPS Mark Kotto and Caroline St-Hilaire: he's the one who picks their clothes

Kotto became an MP in 2004, and their romantic partnership started shortly afterwards when St-Hilaire, who had been elected in 1997, began showing Kotto the political ropes. He's half of the two represents one half of the same city, Longueuil. St-Hilaire was married with Kotto's most immediately. When she first heard he was in the riding, she remarked to someone that he could read the telephone book

and sound great. Kotto sits right behind St-Hilaire in the House. They have an unusual way of indicating their coupledom: "Sometimes people wear rings," says Kotto, they were matching outfits. He's the one who picks the clothes when they go shopping. "I am the wife," says Kotto, who before becoming an MP worked in comedy and theatre. But when they get dressed, he looks to see what colours St-Hi-

laire has chosen and follows her lead. "I am very concerned about the harmony," says Kotto, "because this [the House of Commons] is not a place of harmony." The two plan to marry when Quebec becomes an independent nation. ■

ON THE WEB For more Ottawa details or to contact Mitchel Raphael, visit www.mitchelraphael.com

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here is that McGarry didn't jolly when Harper merely is, soon after becoming, on the way to a fundraiser for sea leader John Tury at which he gave off his own "Gustavo's Humour doesn't have a prob-

This month, Harper cancelled a trip to Finland for a Canada-EU summit. European officials, whose community encompasses half a billion people and an economy the size of



Having barely built a reputation as a can-do guy, he's become the ultimate won't-do guy.

He's turning into a real shrinking violet. Never mind that he's cancelled all Orson news conferences for the foreseeable future, ordering his congressional director to ignore every outcry from the press gallery *except* to discuss solutions to their media

To win, whatever happened to the vote on gay marriage? Harper's entourage must guess his out of the boss's innermost cabinet, on the first day of the 2006 election campaign, that he'd hold a Commons vote on whether to reopen the debate on equal marriage for same-sex couples. This, they said, showed the big man's tough side. First day

...to a superior team, more success is in still early days. But so far his failure to match action to ambition is becoming the signal disappointment of his prime ministership. **M**

ON THE WEB: For more Paul Wells, visit the links at www.usaib.com/featurewells

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Noting the proliferation of religious sects in eighteenth-century England, Voltaire commented that it was a paradise of many faiths but only one source. Behind the dry wit was an astute observation about the merits of religious tolerance: "If there were only one religion, there would be danger of error; if there were only two they would quarrel; but there are 30, and we are safe."

That correction was dealt a stiff blow recently by the American sociologist Robert Putnam, who presented his latest research in a series of talks in Britain last month. According to Putnam, in the face of large-scale immigration and increased diversity, people tend to "hunker down" and "shut their garden." They become less open and more distrustful of one another, he says, and the bonds of community are stretched to the

This research won its author Sweden's prestigious Skattefri Prize in Political Science. It also won him an unfriendly group of friends: racists, neo-immigration activists, and right-wing nationalists who thought that they'd been given a hefty new club with which to beat the soft skulls of multiculturalists. For a self-styled progressive like Putnam, the

Putnam recognizes that this still is just

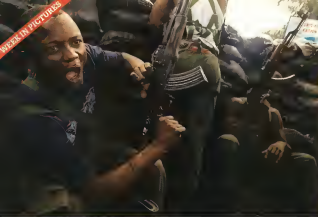
What really distinguishes the current political climate is official multiculturalism, whose effects in many countries have been to insa-



ical dynamism. He told the *Financial Times*, "I am interested in and concerned about the

tion in the face of diversity, a country can choose from three broad approaches: coercion, co-optation, and competition. Coercion, in which social conformity is enforced by the state, through religious endorsement and religious suppression, is effective but brutal, and is not a long-term solution, as people will resist. Co-optation, in which the state attempts to co-opt dissent, is a more effective approach. Co-optation to dialogue and national inquiry—what in 18th-century England is called the *numbers of 10-plus religious sects to meet*

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Rötter visit his blog at www.medicinenet.com/andrewrotter



GUNNING FOR THE PRESIDENCY

Marines and rebel fire rang out in Kinshasa, the capital of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, on the weekend, as forces loyal to the two candidates—current President Joseph Kabila and Vice-President Jean Phileas Bwambwa—clashed. Four people were killed as crowds from the presidential runoff picked it, showing Kabila in the lead.

1. A soldier loyal to Bwambwa shouts during fighting in Kinshasa.
2. Presidential candidates Kabila (left) and Bwambwa after holding talks.
3. Workers of the Independent Electoral Commission compile ballots.
4. A member of Iganga's 330 troops, one of 17,000 peacekeepers.
5. Supporters of Bwambwa, a former rebel leader, beat a policeman.
6. A billboard supporting Bwambwa is damaged following a shootout.
7. A soldier loyal to Bwambwa is taken away after being wounded.
8. A Congolese soldier sits on a grave.





'Poverty is a threat to peace. Extreme poverty destabilizes societies. Microcredit helps reduce that threat.'

MUHAMMAD YUNUS, NOBEL-PRIZE WINNER, TALKS TO JONATHAN GATEHOUSE ABOUT BANKROLLING BEGGARS AND FIGHTING TERRORISM

In 1976, Muhammad Yunus started a revolution by reaching into his pocket. On a visit to a rural village in his native Bangladesh, the economics professor discovered that workers were forced to borrow local loan sharks for sums of just a few dollars to finance their farms and businesses. With a total of \$27—in his pocket back then—Yunus helped 42 families, and kick-started the global microcredit movement. Three decades later, his Grameen Bank has made 45.7 billion worth of loans to 6.6 million poor borrowers—most of them women. In October 2006, Yunus and his bank were awarded co-recipients of the 2006 Nobel Peace Prize.

Q You've said that "access to credit should be a human right." That goes far beyond most people's thinking. Why should we be borrowing as a basic, universal necessity?

A: Because the accepted human rights are food, shelter, health and education, and the basic responsibility of a society is to make sure that no one is denied access to that. People can have their rights. Employment is also a right, but society can't make widespread work for everybody, so the alternative is self-employment. If I can go ahead and take money and start my own income generation, then the other rights—food, shelter, etc.—become easier to implement. The big financial institutions currently ignore almost two-thirds of the world's population. So I say the right to credit should have the top priority on the list of human rights.

Q: At the Global Microcredit Summit in Halifax this week, Canada pledged to no longer fund microcredit programs in the developing world. Your response was that you'd like to see foreign donor handouts come to an end. Why?

A: Gradually. That support helps build necessary capacity. But if microcredit is a financial service, it should be self-sustaining like the banks—taking deposits and lending money. That's what the ultimate shape of it should be. This is an interim arrangement to build it up. But we still need an enormous amount of money, and I don't think donors should be burdened with supplying it as grants. It should be done commercially.

Q: Grameen Bank's taken donor money since 1981. Doesn't that independence come with a price? Couldn't you help more people?

A: Oh, we have plenty of money. Money was never our problem. Last year we opened a branch a day, on average. We tell new branch managers, you raise the money from deposits and lend it out. There's no start-up money. The real problem is the legal status. Most micro-finance institutions can't legally take deposits.

Q: What obstacles do you face in getting that status?

A: Grameen Bank has legal status. But most of the microcredit in the world is done by NGOs, and NGOs aren't designed to handle financial transactions, so technically whenever they do microcredit, it's illegal. We've proposed two laws, one allowing NGOs

to convert themselves into microcredit banks, and another creating an independent microcredit regulatory authority. Those two laws are important in every country if you want to do microcredit in a big way.

Q: Microcredit has become fashionable lately, attracting the support of people like Bill Gates and Bill Clinton. Now with the Nobel Prize, you're becoming an overnight success after 30 years of hard work. How do you cope with all that?

A: I keep on telling like I have for 30 years, and now, hopefully, people will listen. Like the legal questions. These are the basic issues that have to be taken care of, country by country. Hopeful, the policy makers will pay more attention than they did before.

Q: Some people found it strange that you were awarded the Peace Prize, not the Nobel Prize for Economics. What's the link between loans to the poor and world peace?

A: Poverty is a threat to peace. Extreme poverty destabilizes societies. And if there are neighboring countries that are rich, then that creates tension, and leads to conflict. Whenever you see conflict there are always elements of economic privation. So if you consider poverty a threat to peace, then microcredit is helping to reduce that threat by getting people out of poverty. It's a very effective tool. It's not government coming to help, you are in the driver's seat of your own life.

Q: The Nobel bureau described the Grameen Bank as "a challenge to radical Islamists." For your decision to charge interest and focus on

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promoting the economic well-being of women in a Muslim country. But that doesn't put your Peace Prize in the middle of the West's war on terror. Are you comfortable with that?

A Yes. I've been part of the war on terror ever since it began. But the solution to terrorism will not come by military means. To address terrorism, you have to go to its root cause—that strong sense of injustice. It could be economic injustice, extreme poverty, etc., or political injustice. People turn to violent solutions because all other means have been ineffective for them. We have to address those privations to end terrorism. Even if you kill the terrorists, it doesn't mean the roots of the problem have disappeared.

Q Greenpeace didn't find its own problem with nuclear. In 1995, religious groups organized a boycott. Last year, some of your leaders were booted by radical Islamic groups. Will the Peace Prize offer a measure of protection or does it make you a bigger target?

A We've had more problems with the radical left—they think this is a terrible capitalist intervention, part of a bigger conspiracy. In them, we see enemy No. 1. Religious people aren't so much of a problem. They have limited appeal. They can't articulate their position. All they say is that we're going to hell. People don't take it seriously.

Q You've predicted that poverty in the "third world" will be eradicated from the face of the earth by 2030. How are we to accomplish such a huge task?

A The UN Millennium development goals were to reduce the number of poor people by half by 2001. I believe it can be done, and Bangladesh will probably be one of the countries that succeeds. So by logical extension, it should only take another 10 years to get to zero poverty. The second half should even be faster—we have gained a lot of experience and built up the programs and institutions. And once it's done, I say it's the only place you'll be able to say it.

Q But isn't poverty relative?

A Wherever talk about poverty, we're talking about the poverty line, whatever it is. You define it. We're not talking about relative poverty, you have a billion dollars, I have a million, so I am poor. It's like people who suffer from a lack of interest to take care of their basic needs: housing, food and nutrition.

Q You've extended your long program to the poorest of the poor in Bangladesh—beggers. Why provide assistance to people who, with a lack of interest of charity?

A I'm not stopping anybody from giving

charity. I'm saying if you can use shoen, here it is. We've never said people to stop begging. We've given people options—you can sell things at the same time as begging. If you are going home to house company, would you like to carry some individualized cookies, candies, toys for the kids?

Q Is it a more effective way to help?

A A lot of people stopped begging and have become door-to-door salespeople. This helps other beggars to say, "They, I can do that too." Right now we have about \$4,000 beggars in that program, and more than 4,000 have already stopped begging completely, others are part-time salespeople.

Q Your other Greenpeace campaign now operates the largest mobile phone network in Bangladesh, as well as a seasonal fund. How does that benefit your humanitarian work?

A There's no connection with the bank. There are independent companies without any financial or ownership connection. The mobile phone company is partly owned by Greenpeace, another company helped create. It's a very profitable company, and it pays the most corporate tax in Bangladesh.

Q But it's not a bank in the bank's work?

A Yes, we guarantee to Greenpeace borrowers to buy themselves cell phones and start selling the service to others. It's a very good way to come generating money for our businesses—we call them Telephone Ladies. Now we have nearly 100,000 of them all over Bangladesh.

Q Greenpeace is a success, but the World Bank estimates that only one per cent of micro-credit institutions around the world are financially stable. Since we are on an opportunity for big banks to help, but our micro-credit movement keep its principles that August?

A Our complaint is that big banks don't lend money to two thirds of the world's population. They should. They used to say that it couldn't be done. We showed that it can be done. Governments and society should be helping them to do the business with the poor, too.

Q Would you be happy to see that?

A Of course. We're on everything that's along.

Q What's next for you? You've been talking about creating a new type of company—social business enterprises. How do you think that work?

A The present concept of business is so restricted. It gives the impression that human beings are just money-making machines. It's such a narrow interpretation of capitalism. There could be another type of business—social businesses—to do good, and where creation is not measured in making profits, and no dividend is expected. So we must address issues like the environment of women, poverty, or clean drinking water. The same people that run profit-making enter-

prises can also run these companies.

Q How do you find such success so far?

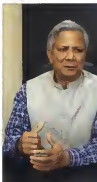
A We recently started a joint venture with Danone to bring aurore to the malnourished children of Bangladesh by producing and selling fortified yogurt. Danone won't take any profit and neither will Greenpeace. The investors can take their money back, but there are no dividends.

Q What are your plans for the US? I met how Nobel Prize money?

A I'd set up a social business. It could be in health care. We already have some eye-care hospitals. Another possibility is prenatal care, which doesn't exist in Bangladesh.

Q Do you have political ambitions?

A No, I don't.



The right to credit should have the top-most priority on the list of human rights'

Q But you've been a force in Bangladesh calling for the creation of a "social" party. That's not something you want to be involved in?

A No. I'm just saying that we can't claim mass corruption in the country if we send corrupt people into the parliament.

Q Do you have no intention of ever going into politics?

A Ever is a long-term thing. Of course, circumstances could force me into it, but I don't have a plan to go. ■

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It's sad you can judge a person by the company they keep. If the same goes for countries, then China's reputation could hardly get worse. In the last year, Beijing has run interference for a while who of course separates it from the United Nations from tackling the genocide in Darfur. It (thwarted efforts to win in the nuclear arms race of Iran and North Korea. Just this month, Zimbabwe's strongman Robert Mugabe heaped praise on China, which has turned a blind eye to his country's repressive internal affairs. "For Zimbabwe, going to China is going to our second home," he gushed at Beijing. "We regard China as a part of us."

With its own government on human rights, China has long instead countries should not interfere in each other's internal business. And



CASHING IN CHINA's enormous potential as an export market has many moved to see capitalism is better than communism

than 87,000 protests in China last year, many against corrupt local officials. "A lot of people in the West buy into the idea that China is much more open-minded because they go there and say, 'It's really so bad,'" says Joseph Ridenour, deputy Asia director at Human Rights Watch in New York. "I think Beijing has been successful at engineering a view that China is modern and developing and that isn't the kinds of problems that existed in the past, when really they've just gotten a lot better at covering them up."

There's also growing uneasiness in Canada and elsewhere over China's foreign relations. "The West's policy for 25 years was to bring China into the international community, which we have done," says Adam Segal, an analyst with the Council on Foreign Relations, a Washington think tank. "But the question is, what are they going to do next? Their support of corrupt states, and undermining what the West is trying to do on human rights issues,



THE CHINA DILEMMA

For years, Canada has tried diplomacy and compromise, but China still tramples human rights and props up pariah states. Some say it's time we stood up to a global bully.
BY JOHN GEDDES AND JASON KIRBY

For most of the last four decades, Canadians have been happy to oblige. Just as the Conservatives in power in Ottawa, smooth relations between the two countries have all but come to an end. This was made clear when Prime Minister Stephen Harper requested a meeting with Chinese President Hu Jintao at this week's Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit in Vietnam, and was left hanging. Out of the meeting, analysts say, it was a poorly defined foreign policy, reflecting a sharply divided cabinet: spending over how Canada should deal with China's intransigence on human rights and foreign affairs. On one side are MPs calling for a tougher stance in defence of Taiwan, Tibet and political freedoms. On the other are members who insist the way to approach China is with co-operation, outreach and subtle persuasion. The split is more clearly reflected in the differences between cabinet colleagues David Emerson and Jason Kenney. Kenney, a long-time critic of China's human rights abuses, was a key proponent of an official visit last year by then prime minister Paul Martin. It happened that Zhou Yongkang died while the Canadian delegation was in China. Zhou was the former Communist party official who spent 13 years under house arrest for opposing his own government's bloody assault on the Tiananmen Square protesters in May 1989. Kenney took the opportunity to pay his respects at Zhou's Beijing home, over

Martin's objection. "It's a statement to Zhou Yongkang," Kenney wrote in a candid note, "that [Chinese authorities] won't permit open public expression of his death."

Canada's of that sort against a rising economic giant is easier to express in opposition than in power. Yet Kenney has a lot of soft on China since becoming a key figure in a new prime minister's inner circle. Since the Conservatives took over, he has attended the Chinese by meeting with the Dalai Lama, who is seen by Beijing as a dangerous separatist, and attending a Halfway Day party at the Ottawa mission in Taiwan, which Beijing regards as a breakaway province rather than an independent democracy.

Trade Minister Emerson, in contrast, shares the perspective that forging commercial ties with Asia's rising economic power trumps other considerations. He hopes to travel to China early next year to pave the way for better relations. "We are missing a tremendous opportunity to develop and diversify the Canadian economy," he stated recently. Among business groups eager to maximize overseas opportunities, Emerson doesn't have to work hard to make his case.

The Canadian Media and Emerson's supporters has granted about how long it's taking the Tories to send a top-level cabinet minister to China. It's a question that's been asked a lot. The trip last year was downgraded to a low-level minister. And the Canadian Chamber of Commerce issued a report last month urging Ottawa to promote trade and investment, saying the Tories shouldn't let their own human rights grip get in the way.

Neither Emerson, nor Kenney, would comment for this story, but the battle has been deadlocked in Ottawa. "The Conservatives came in and asked some: 'Readiness of questions about whether Canada has the right demands on commercial relations and human rights with China,'" says an observer familiar with the matter. "But in 10 months last year haven't

come up with any answers. The Conservative is a single mind on China. There are several groups with other views and little unity among them."

Such tension has long been the background static of Canada-China relations. What changed when the Tories came to power was a matter of emphasis and conviction. Under the Liberals, Jean Chrétien led the biggest Canadian trade mission ever to Beijing in 1997, and Paul Martin came adjusting to the rise of China and India as economic powerhouses last spring policy priority. Liberals shared the pro-economic view of most democratic countries that as China opened up its economy, political progress and human rights reforms would inevitably follow.

That reasoning doctrine, allowing for push-free proofing from China's exploding market, now looks a little wobbly. Opponents are merely self-serving. "Fifteen years ago, when China started to have free elections and the economy really began to open up under Deng Xiaoping, I felt that the world would be more participative from China's ex-

JASON KENNEY INFURIATED CHINESE OFFICIALS BY PAYING HIS RESPECTS AT THE HOME OF A DISSIDENT WHILE ON A STATE VISIT TO BEIJING IN EARLY 2005

is clearly not in our interests."

Two weeks ago, Beijing hosted what was hailed as its biggest party in half a century. Leaders and delegates from 41 African nations descended on the capital for a two-day summit. Dubbed a conference on "friendship, peace, co-operation and development," it was really a massive trade mission, connecting men between resource-rich Africa and China, which is desperate for raw materials and willing to spend billions of dollars to secure them. By the time it was over, China pledged US\$5



IRON FIST From courting African despots like Zimbabwe's Mugabe (top) and firing military muscle, to crushing local protests, China shows little interest in reform

TOP: LEFT TO RIGHT: CHINA'S ENORMOUS POTENTIAL AS AN EXPORT MARKET HAS MANY MOVED TO SEE CAPITALISM IS BETTER THAN COMMUNISM; CHINA SHOWS LITTLE INTEREST IN REFORM; CHINA'S ENORMOUS POTENTIAL AS AN EXPORT MARKET HAS MANY MOVED TO SEE CAPITALISM IS BETTER THAN COMMUNISM; CHINA SHOWS LITTLE INTEREST IN REFORM



HESSEY China has supported Sudan, blocking international efforts to intervene in Darfur

billion in aid loans, no strings attached, and asked another US\$2.1 billion in business deals, including agreements with both Zindane's Magrebien Sudan's Petroleum Office in Beirout.

While Zindane is rich in minerals, Sudan has become even more important to China for its oil reserves. Roughly 60 per cent of Sudan's oil exports now flow to China. But in return for the crude, Beijing has offered something almost more valuable than money. For three years, armed forces and the government backed militia known as the janjawid have waged a bloody battle against rebels that has left half a million dead and driven more than two million people from their homes. The UN has pushed for a large peacekeeping force to stop the genocide, but has run into a major roadblock: China's permanent veto on the five-member security council. China, along with Russia, insists the UN needs Sudan's approval before troops can be deployed. This week, even as pro-government militia attacked and killed dozens of villagers, Sudan said no UN force would be allowed into the country.

Darfur is far from an isolated case. Since his election last year, Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has cranked up the country's nuclear program, asking for ties to powerful friends—especially Russia and China—as political cover. Iran supplies 15 per cent of China's oil, and this year both Russia and China have repeatedly opposed U.S.-led attempts to impose sanctions on Tehran. China was also strong when it came to UN sanctions against Jose Rung Jang, North Korea, which has moved itself to first nuclear power. China is believed to have halted the flow of oil to North Korea in September to put pressure on the regime, and helped lure the Chinese back to top priority talks. Still, it stopped any of the more punitive economic sanctions demanded by the West.

Such moves irritate those MPs who advocate

a hardline approach. But if Ottawa plans to ratchet up pressure on Beijing, it has the potential to get messy very fast. Part of the problem is that the government's major foreign policy decisions are tightly controlled by a small group of MPs close to the Prime Minister. On a file as complicated as China, this has led to delays. Some doubt the government's lack of a China policy will have any long-term economic consequences. "Human rights and trade have not traditionally been connected by the Chinese side," says Borten. "They'll continue to buy the best product at the best price regardless of any government's attitude toward China's human rights situation." His point is Canada's economic pursuit of access to Alberta's oil sands, where a Chinese state company has a \$10-billion stake in the Sinopec project.

Right-wing groups in the U.S. are also pushing Canada to toughen up. "China has always been Canada's toughest of the positive attributes of the Americas with none of the



"WE ARE MISSING A GENERATIONAL OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP AND DIVERSIFY THE CANADIAN ECONOMY, TRADE MINISTER DAVID EMERSON WARNED RECENTLY

negative ones," says John Thibault, a senior researcher at the Heritage Foundation in Washington. He doubts China would really act against Canada. "I think the Chinese would be more likely to respond to Canadian constructive criticism than America's perpetual criticism."

That's a huge gamble for Harper to make. China is Canada's second largest trading partner and is on track to overtake the U.S. in direct investments. For the first time, Chinese MP's like Senator Pat Carney, a former Toyota cabinet minister who visited the country last

month, the stakes are too high. "It disturbs me when we start talking about exporting Canadian values," she says. "The status quo has taken 40 years to build up. I'm confident there's no basic change in our China policy. But if there is, and the Chinese lose face, it will be us who end up with egg on our face." There are already examples of how political sparring can complicate the economic relationship. One is Canada's frustratingly slow progress toward "approved destination status," under which the Chinese government would allow its citizens to travel to Canada as tourists much more easily. More than 50 countries have negotiated the status, and the U.S. is expected to finalize a deal soon, leaving Canada's tourism sector deeply worried. According to a source familiar with the file, Beijing is unlikely to grant Canada the status until Canada deports Liu Changrong, who is accused in his native China of running a multi-billion dollar smuggling ring, but is using every legal means to delay extradition from Vancouver. Emerson has publicly drawn a link between the stalled tourism talks and the Liu case. A tougher stance in Ottawa on human rights won't make matters easier.

In the vacuum of an articulated foreign policy, some provisions, such as British Columbia, appear to be going it alone. This week, B.C. Premier Gordon Campbell opened off for a two-week Asia-Pacific trip, including a stop in Beijing. It's the most recent in a series of high-level visits. B.C. ministers have made it their push for closer economic ties.

The question remains: can Harper craft a policy that satisfies both his business and moral supporters, who covet more trade with China, as well as small, conservative who can't look past the regime's misty feelings? So far, there's been no sign from the Prime Minister. In fact, he barely mentions the con-

try by name. And that leaves not only outsiders, but also bureaucrats working directly on Chinese issues, trying to avoid the conflicting signals from Kennedy, Emerson and others. As a result, sources say, even major officials are rarely meeting with their Chinese counterparts in the form of low-profile talks that normally give the way for higher-level encounters. Business leaders who, in that, would be pleased by Harper getting his message across with Hu at the APEC summit. "There isn't, in my view, a lot for the two leaders to discuss," he says. "What would be put on the agenda?"

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A RESISTER WITHOUT A WAR

Is he a conscientious objector if he was never bound for combat?

BY MICHAEL FRISCOLANTI • *Francisco Juarez is the newest voice of Canada's anti-war movement, and undeniably so. A former navy aviator army recruit, the 35-year-old Torontoer quit the military because he couldn't stomach the thought of deploying in Afghanistan. Free to speak his mind, Juarez now spends much of his time travelling the country, telling crowds large and small why the rest of Canada's troops don't belong in Kandahar, either. Juazeiros have dubbed him the "first Afghan war resister"—a title he happily accepts. "My ethics garden," Juarez says, "and I followed them."*

Peace activists couldn't buy a better spokesman, a real-life soldier who saw the light at the end of the propaganda tunnel: "If we send Canadian Forces members to work and possibly die in another part of the world, we owe them a debate," Juarez says. "There needs to be a broader discussion within our society about what we are doing, and I think the Prime Minister needs to be a bit more honest about the objectives." But critics—including officials at the Department of National Defence—believe it's Juarez, not Stephen Harper, who needs to start telling the truth. "From my point of view, he doesn't have any credibility," says Conservative Member of Parliament, a spokeswoman for the chief of military personnel. "He wasn't resisting anything because he wasn't even in line to go."

In March, after four years on the war, Juarez transferred from the full-time army to the part-time army in the hopes of finishing his university degree while training to be an infantry officer. Now a reservist, Juarez was under no obligation to serve in Afghanistan. Previous soldiers cannot be forced to deploy, they must volunteer. Juarez wants to be unforced to sign up for a tour by 2009, but then he began to question the military's evolving Afghan strategy, which he describes as



HE SPENDS much of his time touring Canada, telling crowds why he opposes the war

war first, and second. He became so disillusioned that during a training course in New Brunswick he simply refused to participate, citing personal and family reasons. But he never renounced Afghanistan. "I kept that to myself," he says, speaking by telephone from his home in Victoria, B.C. "I just wanted to make it easy as I could get out and, as a private citizen, express my point of view." He got his wish: The Forces fired Juarez \$500 and discharged him without honor.

ONE WEBSITE HAS GONE SO FAR AS TO DEMAND JUAREZ APOLOGIZE FOR MISLEADING THE PUBLIC



Since then, he has become a poster boy for peace, applauded in the press for his refusal "to join for the Afghan campaign." To the military's chagrin, most reports have failed to mention the obvious fact: Juarez was never bound for the war he now claims to resist. The Forces' public affairs department has tried to set the record straight, but with little success. "We are not in a position similar to other nations that have had numerous individuals desert because they didn't want to serve," Laviolette says. "We have had conscientious objections and we have had anti-

tilts go absent without leave." The Warred Group, a website that publishes defense-related commentary, has even gone so far as to demand that Juarez apologize for misleading the public. "The time has come for Mr. Juarez to come clean," the site reads. "As former service members, however briefly, we are sure he is still familiar with the concepts of personal responsibility and behavior. As such, he knows that we cannot quietly accept his blatant disregard for the truth."

Juarez insists he was never dishonest. "I was not in danger of being ordered to go to Afghanistan, and I try to make that very, very clear."

he says. "I haven't been obstructive about that at all. I know in some of the articles a sort of sounds like it, but that was not my intention." He believes his status as a reservist doesn't change the fact that he is a bona fide war resister. "What is a war resister?" he asks. "How do we define a war resister? Obviously some people say you have to be in a situation where you are going to be used and then you refuse. But I think there are many different kinds of war resisters." (Like the United States, for example. Some deserters are deployed, then fired. Others simply refused to board the plane. "I sort of see myself in those somewhere," Juarez continues. "But I don't spend a lot of time worrying about what kind of war resister I am. I just know that I oppose the mission as it is in Afghanistan and what Stephen Harper is doing to our country.")

BEING KYOTO COMPLIANT WITHOUT EVEN TRYING

"The government is trying to confuse the public about what it means to be part of Kyoto. To say we're not trying to meet the targets, but we're in total compliance, is ridiculous. It's like saying we won the wars because we didn't get any penalties for losing a battle." John Bennett, executive director of the Climate Change Network's Canadian wing, on the country receiving two Fossil of the Day awards for poor greenhouse gas performance.



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AFTER 40 years in the GOP's backroom, Vigorelli is about to step into the spotlight

Time for a good house cleaning

The godfather of conservative activism is planning a revolution

BY LUIZA CH. SANCHEZ • Imagine for a moment that you are a legendary conservative activist who has just watched the Republican party lose both houses of Congress. Do you crawl into your bed and weep under the covers? Not if you are Richard Vigorelli, the godfather of disco-mot fundraising, who over four decades nurtured the conservative movement by raising billions of dollars for candidates, one contribution at a time.

"I am grieved" is how Vigorelli, 73, describes himself in the aftermath of the election. The decline of the Republican Congress—a high spending, deficit enlarging and pork-flogging Republican Congress—is an opportunity for conservative activists to “take back the Republican party,” he says. It’s one that has come three times in his lifetime: as the Republican presidential nominee of Barry Goldwater in 1964, the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, and the GOP takeover of Congress in 1994. Vigorelli is planning the next wave.

While the victorious

Democrats may believe they won the election—they have a one-seat majority in the Senate and at least an 18-seat majority in the House—conservative activists like Vigorelli believe Republicans lost it by cringing from conservative principles—in economics, foreign policy and ethics. Vigorelli had long been calling for such a reawakening. He says the GOP had to return that, “when conservatives are angry, bad things happen to the Republican party.” And boys, are they angry. “The anger among conservatives is palpable,” Vigorelli says. “This can cut with a knife, it’s so thick.” He once wrote a book about it: *Conservative and Antisocial*. Peter Goss

W Bush and other big Conservative Republicans have offered the Governor Center. His bottom line is that Republicans cannot increase federal spending by 18 per cent from 2000 to 2009 and expect to get re-elected.

Conservatives hope to channel that anger into an organizational, intellectual and cultural renaissance. Fundraising will be easier, they predict. “It’s always easier to organize a movement when the opposition is perceived to be in power. It was very tough the last 10 years where Republicans controlled everything,” says Vigorelli. The time could be used for pop culture. Some conservative forums such as Rush Limbaugh’s radio show and the conservative *American Spectator* magazine, founded in the 1960s, flourished during the Clinton years. “My kind of conservatism couldn’t be happy,” admits R. Lamm Zyrrill, the magazine’s founder and editor. “The Clinton years were good years. With Hillary coming up again on the horizon, I think the fine part of the next century will be good too.” On Concordly Central, could the conservative persona of Stephen Colbert be in for a better run than the liberal-leaning Jon Stewart? “You’ll see all the conservative publications do better, and grassroots movements will raise more money,” says Goss. Morgan, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a conservative lobby group that also all candidates to sign a pledge not to raise taxes without adding. “I’m on the board of the National Rifle Association—our activities and fundraising always fall when we are successful.” But it’s cold comfort, he adds. “I’d rather have them angry,” says Morgan, noting that only four Democrats if need his top pledge. The first aim of business for such “movement conservatives” is to persuade the GOP majority and the White House not to endorse

an accommodation with the Democratic majority. They are pushing the GOP caucus to elect ideologically pure minority leaders, and for George W. Bush to install the term “bill of bipartisanship.” “It’s definitely an opportunity,” says David Keating, executive director of the Club for Growth, a group that raises money for fiscally conservative candidates. “The entire Republican caucus really needs to do some serious thinking and analysis of why we lost. Republicans lost their brand because they abandoned the principles behind the brand.” The Club for Growth carried out a poll to lay congressional districts that showed voters identifying Democrats as doing a better job of “eliminating wasteful spending” than Republicans, and suggested that more voters (39 per cent) identified

profile in Time magazine prepared him with two waiting, mobile word IBM computers containing mailing “hit lists” that allowed him to raise, back then, \$115,000 dollars “almost overnight,” and so major mass media campaigns against nuclear arms reduction treaty, for example.

New Vigorelli is seeking for ideological purification on websites with names like *conservativecentral.com* and *conservative4g.com*. Ask for plans to build another fundraising empire, this time online, using websites that “serve targets” specific niches with names that would be along the lines of “conservativeantimaterialism.com” (It was approved in the summer of 1994) and “conservativeagainstglobalization.com” (It was approved in the summer of 1994). For example, “it’s going to be serious—we’re talking

THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP, SAYS VIGUERIE, IS BEYOND SAVING

Republicans in the “Party of Big Government” than Democrats (18 per cent). “We’re going to do what we can to minimize its damage as it comes up in Congress. We are going to push the Republicans to pick new leadership,” Keating says.

But for Vigorelli, the task is bigger than who will survive in memory. He sees the moment as grand but historic times, comparing conservatives to “the 18th century who had to wander through the desert for 40 years until that generation of criminals, corrupt leaders had passed away.” The current leadership, from the White House on down, is the worst, says he. “Most of the Republican office holders, including the President, campaigned in Washington as a corrupt politician,” Vigorelli says. “I’ll clean up the pool, the culture of corruption and abuse of power.” And it was true. But then when they got here, after a road of fame they became that which they belied. So the empire, to many if not most, named from original tea-baggers. “They lost their way.”

After following in the movement’s back rooms for 40 years, Vigorelli is planning to step out and lead a counter-reformation. A political science adviser from Presidents, Texas, he was an advertising man who started direct-mail fundraising to small individual contributors for conservative causes back in 1965, so-and-so who he calls his donor. “It was ‘He’s up shop in Palo Alto, Va.’” For over 40 years mailed was what he estimates to be over two billion letters. A 1975



IF CLINTON runs, conservative magazine sales will spike

angry shake taking over the Republican party” Vigorelli says. “I expect to give *MoveOn* a run for their money,” he adds, referring to the recently successful liberal online fundraising and advocacy network.

Heavenly prepared for a long, long sleep—beyond the 2004 presidential race. “I urge conservatives to withhold support from all the top candidates because none of them are worthy of conservative support,” he explains. “Let’s have a shuffling war. Let’s have them come out and say what they are going to do for conservatism.” And what if they don’t? “It may be they don’t have a viable candidate, and I’m okay with that. This is a warzone, not a game.” But at age 73, does he have time for warzone? “My dad died in 1965, so I’m left with a lot to live on to put up with for another 20 years,” he chuckles. “I believe when they are going to battle me.” ■

ON THE WEB: Visit Louisa Ch. Sanchez’s blog at www.msnbc.com/sanchezblog

ANGER IN THE FAMILY

Blitter divisions among Iraq’s Shias are further destabilizing the country

BY ADAM B. KEAR • In the constant, unending stream of news about racial strife being shed in Iraq, it was a bit of a relief to discover early overtook. But in fact the clashes in late October in and around the southernmost Shia city of Al Anbar were part of a brewing trend, albeit one that has largely been obscured by the latest story of Iraq’s Shi’a-Sunni-Kurdish divisions. According to local sources, the fighting began after members of radical Shiiite Mujahideen al-Badr al-Mahdi Army killed a police official belonging to the Ba’th Organization—a rival Shia militia. That attack resulted in three days of battles between the two organizations that left 15 people dead, more than 150 wounded—and observers worrying about further internecine battles among the Shias.

Even prior to that bloody outbreak, anyone laboring under the illusion that Iraq’s majority Shias are a unified force would need only look back to the spring of 2004. At that time, when al-Badr’s followers rose up in rebellion over the occupation of Iraq by large forces, there was fear and irritation among many Shi’a. Al-Badr’s militia Army was on the offensive, prodded into action by its then senior al-Badr’s seniority. Inside speeches denouncing the occupation. In Al Anbar, 175 km southeast of Baghdad, al-Badr’s militia had routed U.S. military forces. “We are keeping the peace now,” and Sheikh Abdul-Jawad, a 30-year-old al-Badr representative, as he spoke of peaceful fighters, some barely in their teens, grew still the city’s desecrated streets with AK-47 assault rifles. “But if anyone wants to fight us, we are ready.” Others promised they would be before giving up the town to the U.S. forces. The day of reckoning was near, many of them claimed, and it was: two days later, American forces had been their headquarters into rubble and shaken the town with heavy night.

Around the same time, during the Arab春 festival in Karbala, one of the holiest cities in Shia Islam, al-Badr fighters were conspicuously absent. The festival marks the end of the 40-day mourning period following the commemoration of the 50th death

CONSERVATIVES' ANGER IS SO PALPABLE. 'YOU CAN CUT IT WITH A KNIFE'



REAGAN's election in 1980 and Goldwater's nomination in '64 paved the way for Republican conservatism



of Ibrahim al-Kaythi Ali, the Prophet Muhammad's grandson and, the Shia believe, his rightful successor. Many felt it was a pious for all Shias to unite, regardless of factional loyalties. But Arbaeen that year was under the control of the Badr Organization, loyal to the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), the most powerful faction in the current government. Its militants provided security for the flood of pilgrims pouring into Karbala from all corners of Iraq and Iran.

The Mahdi Army, according to its leaders, did not want to cause any tensions during such a sacred time. But they were also keen to remind SCIRI of the popular support they enjoyed. So, on the last day of the festival, Mahdi fighters in the thousands, dressed in their traditional black uniforms, materialized out of the city's western outskirts and allegiances. They paraded through the streets, waving posters of their leader, then disappeared, but their message was obvious: we are here, and we are strong.

The bad blood between the two factions was reflected among the people of Karbala. "Muja'ada al-Sadr is the new Saddam," said Hussein Abdul Amir, a 43-year-old shop owner and a supporter of the Badr militia. And despite an apparent reconciliation between al-Sadr and SCIRI following Iraq's national election in January 2005, most Shias rejected the divisions to reunite, so they did in Al-Aminah just weeks ago. Now, with the new Democratic Coalition Congress in Washington pushing for a withdrawal of U.S. troops, and the Bush administration indicating that it's now willing to re-examine the U.S. role in Iraq, those divisions are a further reminder of the full-scale anarchy that could grip Iraq.

Iraq officials have said the fighting in the south is local and does not threaten the unity of the Iraqi government. But the power struggle between rival Shia factions does



MUJA'ADA AL-SADR (foreground) joining with his followers in Najaf in October 2003, members of the Mahdi Army marching in Baghdad (midway), a mass rally by the Badr Organization (background) in Najaf

heading the Sunni insurgency. Occasional, albeit short-lived, alliances between al-Sadr's militia and Sunni insurgents created a sense of anti-American opposition that crossed the traditional Shia divide.

Al-Sadr has since been, to some degree, co-opted into the Iraqi government, where he has been playing an increasingly important role, even discouraging militants among his allies and followers. But there are widespread concerns that his militants are out of control, and no longer heeding his orders. In Al-Aminah, the violence apparently began in the orders of a local leader, and continued despite al-Sadr's appeal for calm.

For the Badr Organization, loyalty to the U.S.-backed Iraqi government, dominated by SCIRI, is absolute. Badr militants have joined the army ranks and police forces, building commando units and death squads that target Sunnis with the tacit approval of their SCIRI overlords. They co-operate with the U.S., carrying out joint operations that occasionally target Mahdi leaders.

With such a fundamental division in political ideology, the Mahdi Army and Badr Organization are bound to come into further conflict. Al-Sadr's Mahdi fighters, mass in touch with the mood on the streets, have developed their support base within local communities, recruiting fighters from the poorest/lowest-caste of Baghdad and other Shia-dominated cities to the south. They view the Iraqi government as an agent of American and British imperialism. The newly appointed commander of the British army, Gen Richard Dannatt, who recently called for British troops to leave Iraq "some time soon," pointed out that the British presence in the south "exacerbates the security problems," meaning,

in part, that foreign occupation is further dividing Iraq's Shia community. Will pulling out foreign troops fix the problem or simply open the floodgates to a civil war that not only pits Kurds, Shias and Sunnis against each other, but Shias against Shias? Too much momentum already exists between the various militias. And as the fighting in Al-Aminah showed, even Iraq's co-religionists find it all too easy to take up arms against one another. ■

point to a deeper crisis for Iraq's ruling coalition, already a patchwork of competing power centers stitched together by the U.S. ambassador to Iraq, Zalmay Khalilzad. In his role as prime minister, al-Sadr, whose distrust for the U.S. is no secret, positioned himself as a defiant Iraqi nationalist leader, demanding a full and immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops. His signals to Sunnis allied with that of Sunni nationalists and former Baathists who have been splin-

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INFILTRATING AL-QAEDA

At a terrorist camp, a French spy meets the battling Khadr brothers

The man who calls himself Omar Nasim is a Yugoslav Muslim, born in Morocco but raised in Belgium when he was 15. He has good reasons for not identifying himself more completely as inside the jihad. My life with Al Qaeda: A Spy's Story, his eye-opening account of his time as Osama bin Laden's organization. Not only is Nasim now an ex-prison-fugit and undercover in Germany, he isn't for most of this story in al Qaeda also trying for French intelligence. Unable to feel at home in either Europe or North Africa, Nasim had drifted into crime and later into radical Islam. Then between sympathy for the Islamicist cause and signals sent at his home, Nasim betrayed his associates in the French authorities. The French, in turn, transformed him into an agent. Nasim even agreed to go to Khalid, the son of Osama, training camp in Afghanistan. There, in 1998 he met, as he recounts in this exclusive excerpt, two young sons of Osama's Khadr family.

One day, two young boys arrived at the camp. They were even younger than the young girl Chuchun in my group. The oldest boy was no more than 13, the younger was about 10. Camp leader the Sheikh stood up to introduce them in the mosque that night.

"Please welcome your new brothers. This is Hassan," he said, pointing toward the older one, "and this is Osama."



STUDENT TERRORIST TESTS (top): Abdulrahman Khadr (left), second of the Khadr camp in Maudia, next to his brother, Omar, to find Osama, was only 10



As we all welcomed Hassan and Osama that night, I noticed that the greeting was even more solemn than usual. The boys were beginning their training very young, and the brothers were impressionable.

Hassan and Osama weren't put in a group like the other brothers. Most likely, they spent their afternoons with a trainer learning about guns. But sometimes they would tag along with me. I had finished all of my training at this point, but saw days Abu Hassan would take me out for extra training, usually with explosives. I spoke to the boys in English, and I noticed they both had strong American accents. But I didn't learn much about the brothers at first, because they teased each other and fought constantly. Not just bickering the way that brothers do, but really fighting.

One day, a group of us were sitting on a hill near camp. Hassan and Osama were practicing on the firing range with one of the trainers. Hassan was shooting a Kalashnikov and Osama was practicing with a 9006. They were both terrible—they clearly didn't know anything about these guns. They looked obviously already forgotten everything they had learned in the classroom.

As usual, they were less interested in the training than in fighting with each other. After a few minutes, they stopped firing at the targets and turned toward each other. Then though we were far away, we could hear that they were yelling.

Then, suddenly, Osama lifted up his 9006 and pointed it at his brother. Hassan immediately pointed his own Kalashnikov back at him. We were all shocked—we never saw our guns on each other this way. The boys were screaming more and more loudly. Their fingers were on the triggers of their guns.

Khalid bin Laden came back at him. We were all shocked—we never saw our guns on each other this way. The boys were screaming more and more loudly. Their fingers were on the triggers of their guns.

I think every brother on that hill believed the boys were actually going to kill each other. And they probably would have if the trainer hadn't jumped between and pushed them apart. When it was over, we all turned to each other in dismay. We had never seen anything like this at the camp—they had broken all of the rules we had all learned since our first day of training. Soon, we were laughing about it, even though it wasn't funny at all. It made us nervous.

The boys were constantly hurting themselves, and they came to the infirmary many times. The two boys were very different. Osama was almost aggressive—he behaved around constantly and never stopped talking. His brother was much quieter, more cautious.

It didn't take long for Osama to start telling me about his family. I learned that the boys' father was Egyptian, and that he was a doctor. The brothers had been raised

mostly in Canada, but they lived in Pakistan now. They had been with their father in the Afghan city of Kandahar in 1991, during the ferocious battle that ultimately drove from power Mohammed Najibullah, the Communist president who was toppled by the Taliban in 1996.

The father came to Kandahar only once. He stayed for only a few hours. He arrived in a suit with a few other men, but before I had any chance to study them, the Taliban whisked them off to the explosives laboratory that Osama belonged about his father constantly. He was very impressionable, he told me, and knew lots of people.

One day he asked me, "Do you know Osama?"

"Of course I do," I said. "He's Osama?"

"No, not me. The older Osama?"

"Who is he?" I asked. I knew the boy wanted to tell me.

"He's very important," the boy said. "He's one of my father's best friends. He pays for all of his food here."

Over time, I would learn a little bit more about Osama. I learned he was very rich. I learned that he had been killed twice all over Afghanistan after the civil war ended.

"Where is Osama from?" I asked one day. The boy began to say something, but then I could see that he wasn't himself. He was blushing.

"I think he's from the Emirates... I don't know. I can remember maybe that evening." It was the first time that I ever saw him try to conceal something. He was very bad at it. But at that time, I only registered that Osama must be someone important if he boy was trying to hide information. It would take another two years before I learned why.



EVERYONE WATCHING BELIEVED THE TWO BOYS WERE ACTUALLY GOING TO KILL EACH OTHER

Memorably spoke—he almost revealed a chance to, because his brother was talking all the time. But one evening, Ben Shohk entered him to the infirmary because he had a high fever and pain in his stomach. Hassan ended up spending the night there, and I stayed with him.

He told me that night when he had seen during the battle in Kandahar. He told me that night after night he was doing burning with mortar fire and rockets. One night, a bomb fell near where he and his father were standing on a public square. But it didn't explode. Everyone started by for a few minutes waiting for something to happen, but nothing did. The bomb just lay there.

Hassan told me that once it was clear that the bomb wasn't going to blow, several Afghans started forward to touch the metal and the explosive material inside the shell. The people were desperately poor, and did themselves by selling bits of a munition and other material back to the mujahideen.

The Afghans clustered around the shell, and one began to hit it with a hammer to crack it open again at the component inside. But then the shell exploded. There was a giant fireball, and when the smoke cleared

A BOOK BY BIN LADEN FOUND AT ONE CAMP

all of the Afghans were dead. There were body parts and pieces of clothing scattered all over the square.

Hassan smiled as he finished the story. "It's that stupid!" He laughed and shook his head. "The Afghans are so stupid. But I could tell them by my eyes that five years after it happened, the story still upset him."

I WOULD HEAR much more about the boys and their father after 9/11, when a criminal called Ahmed Khadr—the man I saw going into the explosives laboratory with the Sheikh at Kandahar—had been a close associate of Osama bin Laden's since the 1980s. Then the two were funding the mujahideen in the war with the Soviets. Khadr went on to become one of bin Laden's top funders.

Among his sons, who were with him in Afghanistan, was Abdulrahman—the son I knew as Hassan, who told me about the Afghans killed in front of him in Kandahar. Omar Khadr was his younger brother, who I knew as Osama. He was the noisy one, who always talked about his father's important friends.

In 2003, Ahmed was killed in Afghanistan in a shootout with Pakistani forces. His younger son, Abd al, was with him, and during the attack he was paralyzed from the waist down. The oldest son, Abd alhadi, was indicted in Massachusetts in February 2004, charged with buying weapons for al Qaeda, planning the murder of American soldiers, and carrying out weapons of mass destruction. As for Omar and Abdulrahman, the two brothers were captured in 2002 after he allegedly killed a U.S. army medic with a hand grenade. Now he is in custody in Guantanamo Bay. Abdulrahman was arrested in Afghanistan in November 2001. He was handed over to the Americans, and taken to Guantanamo Bay. At some point, he flipped and began working for the CIA—first in Guantanamo and then in Berlin. He recalled his story on the news in 2004, and now Hollywood is making a movie about his life. ■

From the book *Inside the Jihad: My Life with Al Qaeda, A Spy's Story* by Omar Nasim. Copyright © 2006. Reprinted by arrangement with Basic Books. All rights reserved.



CHINA: INTIMATE PRODUCTS ENRAGE CELEBRITIES

Some well-known Chinese stars are furious that makers of intimate consumer goods are reporting its products with their names. The world's most famous actress, Yao Heng of the NBA's Golden State Warriors, was discovered to find that a line of women's underwear sold by his name was off the line. Meanwhile, renowned singer Ai Dou has taken legal action against a firm that made a line of condoms after he took the "Ai Dou" in Mandarin means "love to wear."

DEATH, BETRAYAL AND EGO AT 29,000 FEET

Byron Smith's ascent of Everest was broadcast live to thousands of Canadians. Why are some people now saying he didn't actually make it? BY CHARLIE GILLIS

On a bright morning six years ago, through a wind-chopped radio feed from the heart of the Nepalese Himalayas, thousands of Canadians listened in on the most important moment of Byron Smith's life. "I'm 30 steps from the summit," he advised in a radio call relayed by satellite to CBC NewsWorld. Smith, then 40, was negotiating the famed narrow ridge of Mount Everest, and conditions on the climb had by all accounts been stellar: haze dropped away, cracking cold and an 85-knot wind that peeled sheets of ice crystals from the mountain stopped haled them across the top. But Smith had soon accompanying Sherpas pressed on, and 18 minutes later the expedition leader announced a touch of good news for his big announcement: "I can't take another step," he said between breaths of "O' Cay." "We're on top of the world."

The perfect denouement—now it seemed. For the better part of two months, NewsWorld had been airing Smith's daily expedition updates in what was billed as a show-bizting, high-altitude drama. Would he make it? Would weeks of poor weather break on his favorite? Would the Goddess of the Sky smile on a blue-eyed Canadian from an Alberta town named Valdez? Now the audience could go home satisfied. While Smith had failed to achieve his secondary ambition of performing a live TV broadcast from the summit, he said in a video would presumably atop a live radio, place the Maple Leaf on the peak and—barring a catastrophe of lost Thru Air properties—make a triumphant return to his base camp.

Then came a bombshell that would spend Smith's life: When the American Alpine Club published its first ever database of Himalayan climbs in 2004, his ascent was flagged as "disputed." That might not sound like much, but in mountain-walking circles it's tantamount to shouting "flag false!" It named two Canadians who had been on the mountain that year, including Smith's own climbing partner, Tim Ruppel, registered comments on the database suggesting that Smith had outright lied about his May 21 conquest—that he never had stood on top of the world. The details were based on Smith's comparatively rapid

What the newsies didn't know was that there was nobody in Smith's base camp. Nobody, in other words, who could share the moment in his own language. By the time he spoke his momentous words, his expedition had devolved into such a tangle of backbiting that all but his Nepalese support staff and one very confident climbing partner had fled for the safety of Kathmandu. His trusty physician, Virginia Robinson of Harrogate, Ont., stuck around long enough to patch Smith's wounds through a satellite transmitter to CBC. Then she picked up her backpack

summit push, and a puzzling lack of photographic evidence on spiky terrain to carry it several thousand miles. "Quite a few people in Canada had expressed doubts that Smith actually reached the summit," read notes recorded by Elizabeth Hawley, an American journalist who lives in Kathmandu and compiles the information contained in the database. "They are skeptical" because of the lack of pictures and ascent and descent times.

Smith, who was by then an internationally ranked ski and triathlete triathlete, was over-aged. He had returned home a month during and had been cultivating a career as a motivational speaker under the name "Climbing the Leader from Within." Customers knew him as the guy who climbed Everest, and pictures from that 1999 expedition adorned the walls of his two fond dens in Valdez and nearby Sewardville. When news of the dispute made the rounds, he says, both his speaking engagements and his sustainable interest faded. "We got closed down business-out here," he now says, referring to the Valdez outlier, which he shares with his partner (the Sewardville leadership remains open). "When you get people in a smaller community saying, 'Well, I'm not buying from him, he's a liar,' that doesn't just hurt me. It hurts my family and my employees."

So he decided to fight back. In a lawsuit filed last March in U.S. district court in Golden, Colo., he demanded that the alpine club and Hawley remove the disputed designation and pay him unspecified damages. The lawsuit attack himself his detractors at least temporarily. Neither party said it. Hawley nor the other climber on record, an Ottawa man named Ben Webster, would comment for this story. But as many a plaintiff has learned, civil action has a way of unleashing the law of unintended consequences. Embarrassing details favorable to him, in many instances aggressively damaging the plaintiff, hoped to wound Smith, for one, speak confidently of seeing the record straight, of doing his utmost, of coming on with his life. But to do so he must tell the story of a failed expedition that was launched for reasons he could fully grasp, and whose events do not reflect well on any of the principal players—least of all himself.

If people who have never met Byron Smith are ready to believe the worst about him, it's probably because they imagine Mount Everest as a place where virtue takes a back seat to ego. The professional adventurers who

WILLOW: Smith on the notorious Khumbu Icefall, the cause of an early rift with his team

COURTESY OF MOUNTAINWORKS

somerset the mountain in the first half of the 20th century have long given way to the kind of bloodless commercial operations who sell the idea that anyone with strength and good health can climb to Death Zone. Now, with the onset of each spring climbing season, base camp descendents into an alpine Corney bladed, populated by different and third-worlders who add medicinal dangers to the climb. The rates start below \$150, when a few people died due to a traffic jam of climbers on the

an array of generous sponsors, including AGF Mutual Funds and Ford, sending money to retain a contingent of 12 Sherpas to carry food, gear, enough oxygen for four summer attempts, and what ever else agreed was enough rope to string across an ocean.

For climbing partners, he hired Ruppel, a respected guide from Nelson, B.C., and Brad Whetstone, a climber and photographer from Calgary. Both knew their way around a video camera, and both had experience in mountain rescue around the world. Ruppel, in particular, was known for his work as a Himalayan guide and summited a 15,000

on a nearby ridge called Kala Pass rather than Camp One above the scull. Smith concluded that Whetstone had an early loss of his nerve. He took a stand, and sent the climber home.

Now severely convinced about the direction of the expedition, the rest of the team members began noticing Smith's less appealing tendencies, most notably his seemingly obsessive control of the daily television updates, which they attributed to pressing self-affliction. "He would pose with me for a photo to show how big his thigh muscle was," says one member, who spoke on the condition of anonymity. "In retrospect, it was kind of funny." Robinson recalls finally confronting her one afternoon at base camp after she and Whetstone taped a segment featuring Sherpas stuffing jackets on the scull. "Byron came by when we were eating it and said, 'I'm not in this footage.' (If I'm not in, then we're not sending it.)" Smith ordered her to stand to depart a day in the life of base camp, she says, using stock footage of Smith performing mundane daily tasks like brushing his teeth. "Visitors were complaining, saying this was the most boring expedition ever, how can you put this on the air?" she recalls. "I'd just tell them I was sorry."

But Robinson, like everyone else on the trip, was in no position to act on her discontent. All the Canadian team members had signed contracts drawn up by Smith's lawyer, giving the leader's not-for-profit organization exclusive power to organize and conduct the expedition. The pact defined anything that occurred during the climb as "expedition property" and forbade members from sharing it with the press. Several team members have told Maclean's that Smith concluded this power. "Don't forget I own you," Robinson recalls her saying one day after she convinced on the pleasure members.

The result was an expedition riddled with fear and loathing, an atmosphere anyone who stepped by the Everest 2000 camp could sense. Machines were brought with awkward silence. The Amnarrags apparently found the atmosphere too oppressive, and left the same day as Whetstone. The normally affable Ruppel, meanwhile, already noted. As night, he could be seen scowling over his tea mug, struggling to suppress his frustration and, presumably, wondering why he'd signed away his right to enter a disappointing world.



'I HAD THIS SENSE THAT I WAS BEING UNDERMINED,' SAYS BYRON SMITH OF HIS TEAM



THE SMITH-TERPES team leader (left), a proper ceremony

preparing for his participation. John and Anna Armstrong, a couple from Princeton, B.C., joined in to coordinate an educational component of the climb, while Smith tapped Robinson, an emergency care physician, to serve as team doctor. The entire expedition, meanwhile, was to involve around the 20-minute CBC Newsworld, to whom Smith, over the summer, had pitched the idea of daily updates to provide media exposure for his sponsors and himself.

The group had not even reached base camp, though, when things were already internal problems had nibbled Whetstone's idea of going through the notorious Khumbu Icefall. Owing the audacious phase of the climb (Whetstone would not consent for the story, citing concern that Smith would misrepresent his own role), Smith was already in a bad mood. Smith was already in a bad mood, and suspected others on the expedition were aligning against him. "I had this sense that I was being undermined," Smith says. "It wasn't obvious, but it was there." When Whetstone chose to renege on

mountain's notorious summit ridge, a catastrophe that changed the way the world saw Everest (and made a millionaire out of Jon Krakauer's authoritarior Jon Krakauer). This year spring added another chapter to the legacy of doom: a climbing season that saw an unprecedented 100 people reach the peak was marred by news that dozens of climbers had left a young Sherpa named David Sharp to perish in the so-called Death Zone above 26,000 feet. Many had reportedly nudged past the aging Englishman because helping would have cost them their own summit.

The entire spectacle smelt gross into despair. "In the world of mad climbing, that runs on Mount Everest is a low-angle shot," says Geoff Fowler, a veteran climber who is also editor of the Canadian Alpine Journal. "It's, it's high. But it's not a particularly significant achievement. We have certain standards of what constitutes climbing, and reaching a summit to a fixed rope from the bottom of a mountain to the top, and having other people carry your gear, is not climbing."

Smith got latched on to these precedents because of the lush nature of the expedition he organized in 2000. A physically strong but not overly skilled climber, he had a truncated Everest in 1998, aborting just 100 vertical feet from the top due to a lack of food and assistance by Sherpas. The next time, he was leaving nothing to chance. Through the fall and winter of 1999, he arranged for



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NEIL, NEIL: Smith allegedly resisted sending along any TV footage not starring him.

On a clear day in Victoria, you can see the Rocky Mountains. But in spirit, Byron Smith is about as far as you can get from the Barkanrock-and-Baldern crowd of Canadian alpine sports. His house is not a winter chalet. It's a modest ranch home that he shares with his wife and teenage son. He proudly drives a pickup, black pickup, and a recent visitor arrived to find him clad not in sportswear (hats, mittens) but in black jeans and khaki shirt, his blond hair faded back to a Andy Davis of WKRP theme. There is a skateboard ramp in the backyard, and a speedboat in the driveway.

Inside, however, strung on the dining room table, are the mementos of Smith's battle to prove his bona fides as a high-tech alpine mountaineer. His laptop computer sits loaded with e-mails he believes constitute evidence of the long-standing conspiracy against him, next to an accordion file crammed with court papers and, finally, the note himself, who is settled in a chair proferring a book—about—that anyone should read in post-mortem. “I’m backed into a corner, and I have to defend myself,” he says, wide-eyed as he acts as a betrayed by peers and former teammates. Over more than four hours of interviews, Smith’s responses lurch between childlike wonderment and exploitation-obsessed stunts. But the man is capable of sending a threat, and if put into words, it would go something like this: “I may not be anyone’s cup of tea. But in this matter, I am the victim of a coordinated smear job. They are trying to steal my greatest achievement.”

At no point does he attempt to engage hostility, which is remarkable given the self-regard that exists privately. “You have to understand, this expedition was to document my ascent,” he says when the accusations of egoism are put to him. “There was no secret for it to be about anything or anyone else. Ever.” On the very often cited toward his accomplishments “I know people who said they were hoping I didn’t succeed [Surrender] because visually everything that I cry, I’m able to do.” On his powers as a climber: “I do my training by myself, and you know why? I don’t like people to slow me down.” On being alone: “I don’t need other people to make me feel complete.” On the brutal living conditions: “Look, this wasn’t a friendship center. This was a business.”


That last argument, while crudely stated, sits at the heart of Smith’s self-defense. As he tells it, his Napoleonic behavior during the trip was partly an outgrowth of his personality (“I’m not the greatest team player”) and a way of letting everyone on his team know when they stand. “We’re here to do a job and everybody has their duties and responsibilities.” But a wary man would have needed rather by the week of the team’s big summit push, he parties. Riegel had contracted a nasty cough and stopped more irritable (his ever toward his expedition leader). He was so close to reach Camp Four, the last stop before the summit, that Smith later said it was clear his journey would be able to reach the top. For Riegel, that realization would be crushing. He had been on four previous Everest as-

pirations yet never succeeded, and now, once again, the credit all him along parties should have on their mount was slipping from his grasp.

On May 10, when the team left Camp Four for the final leg of the climb at 10:00 p.m., the snow was deep and winds were picking up. According to numerous accounts, including those of Smith’s Sharps, Smith was moving quickly while Riegel lagged badly. He was carrying one of the team’s two video cameras inside his jacket, and the act of unclipping and zipping up to use the device had badly chilled him. By the

time Smith reached the balcony, a rocky platform located 1,400 feet above Camp Four, Riegel had already reached to adjust his tailwind back. “Good luck,” he told the others from his tent back in Camp Four, while the rest of the group—Smith and seven Sharps—pressed on. Shortly after sunrise, they reached a penultimate peak called the South Summit, where they waited for Michael Down, a Canadian climber on another expedition. Smith had hoped to proceed to the top with Down, an accomplished mountaineer from Vancouver. But the British Columbian had a malfunctioning oxygen regulator so he, too, was forced to turn back (he would reach the summit a few days later).

The departure of Down would prove painful, because it left Smith with no one but people he happened to be going to reach his goal. Not that Down has left Smith dangling in affidavits and interviews, he has said he descended some distance, then turned back to let Smith just below the Hillary Step—a rock face just 60 meters’ climb from the peak. The group was moving quickly, he says emphatically, and Byron looked personally strong. “I’m so used to think they wouldn’t have made it,” he told Maclean’s in a detailed interview, in which he provided clear and concise recollections of the morning. As for the Sharps, as have since sworn affidavits confirming that Smith reached the top (the seventh and most experienced, Usha Sharma, died of liver disease in late 2004). One

I  the outdoors

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Sheep raised Ang Dorjee, a formidable climber who had summited Everest five times before the expedition, says in his affidavit that Smith arrived 15 minutes behind him on May 21. Mingma Tenz, who was 22 at the time, recalls watching Smith crawl on the peak in a suicidal manner while, keeping a tight grip on the rope, he was screaming with joy at his accomplishment. "It was kind of funny," he explains in an interview. "A lot of Sherpas survive, and for them it's really so big deal. But yes, Byrne summed it. I was there. It's very true."

Why these accounts should carry any less weight than the word of Rippel and Webster's dead end At it must be noted that the women to date bear an unfortunate of casual. Some critics have suggested the Sherpas feel beholden to a former employer, as were paid more money to go for them. Others note that Smith agreed to pay for the education of one of Unkoph's sons after the Sherpa died, and

this narrative was fed by rumour and conjecture. Rippel said that Smith's need for cash cost him \$100,000. Rippel paid her a visit in March 2008 offering little more than the question of whether Smith could have reached the summit when he said he did, then returned to Camp Four by 10:30 a.m., where he named Rippel. Webster's complaint was based on rumours traded between his own Sherpas and those of Smith's camp. But the lawsuits he brought into a conspiracy theory, and like all such theories, it hangs on the real being idea of an elaborate plot. Smith would not only have had to secure the Sherpas' co-operation, he would have had to take his risk into his own hands, then stage a show of jubilation, turning an ensemble cast of Sherpas, for anyone he met on his descent. Michael Dove, for example, encountered the entire group on its way back to Camp Four, and describes a self-amused Smith looking down at them. "You don't like that on the balcony at 27,000 feet," he says.

'AS GRUMPY AS [ALPINE HISTORIAN] LIZ CAN BE, SHE IS IMPECCABLY HONEST'



A CRUCIAL summit photo that could prove Liz claims—Smith (left) in R, Liz Hawley (left)

says on the summit from the rest of the crew on the operation story may have been some sort of equal pro quo. Still others point out that Smith also wrote a letter to help Mingma Tenz obtain a visa to Canada, which is seen as an enormous favour.

Mingma, who lives in Calgary and teaches drama, says his final review, a critique at the visa theory, noting that he twice got into the United States before coming to Canada, and could easily have gone there instead. Sherpas, he adds, have a financial interest in mountain climbing. "This is our livelihood," he says simply. "We don't lie."

Smith, for his part, scoffs at the idea that he bought off the Sherpas in any manner. "How much money would I need to keep them from leaving from letting them die?" he asks. "I mean, the whole idea is ridiculous. One of them would drink too much through a milk-based meal one night and spill the beans."

Still, the Sherpas have been caught up in the serpentine narrative of a disliked man getting his consequences, of an employer exposed as a fraud by the pundits. Initially,

leader. Copies obtained by Macdonald show the peaks of surrounding mountain before the Sherpas, Smith, according to members of the summit party, was doing his audio broadcast at the time and a part left of the frame (see photo below).

Understanding the scope of this overnight mission, something Smith's stated intent to document his own ascent. It also requires a sense of how obviously he chronicled his own exploits—his use of first approach to the Newmarket broadcast being just one example. Back in Vulcan, he leads the way to his office just off his living room and opens a cupboard to reveal an astounding collection—literally thousands—of slides, prints and videotapes of past expeditions, including the one to Everest. Choosing one of these albums on his desk, Smith pushes an expert over a darkened slide he says he has lost exposure from the Lewis. It takes more than the South Summit, and in it are the barely distinguishable forms of Ang Dorjee, a Chakpa Tenzing and Mingma Tenz.

The rest of the film, he says, came out black.

And so the conditions while several Sherpas, including Ang Dorjee and Mingma, have photos of themselves on the top, no one on the expedition has found one showing Smith. He has been high and low in 2001, desperate and angry over cameras that had begun circulating, he went to Kathmandu trying to find one among his former Sherpas. But he came up empty. You could call it an ill-fated, or the kind of mood that plagues high-altitude climbers in hostile weather that is more successfully going for a man who had just reached his fabled goal—one who is famously devoted to his own goals—not to have that all-important picture proving his achievement.

The keeper of all Himalayan climbing records made only thought as At 81, Elizabeth Hawley is a journalist, an alpine historian, and a living legend to whom all climbers pay tribute in the way they talk through the Himalayas. She arrived in Nepal as a young war service reporter in 1960, she has remained in her wooden filing cabinets an extensive and unique set of records, including photos of the great Himalayan peaks being taken to the Kennedy years. Everest, K2, Annapurna, Puncu, and the Annapurna—a mountain from the American Alpine

Club finally got onto a database two years ago so it wouldn't be lost. Hawley is famously gruff. She once chased Ed Viesturs, one of the world's premier high-altitude mountaineers, into reclaiming a peak the American had in fact scaled because she wasn't satisfied with his evidence. But she has

on her own record of climbing her own Everest on New Guinea to climb Cannon Puncu, one of the so-called "Seven summits" coveted by globe-trotting climbers. The Indonesian government had been highly critical of her visit to the area because it was trying to make publicity surrounding a coal mine at the summit operation at the foot of the mountain. Others had wanted to visit without permits.

ANG DORJEE SAYS HE TOOK PHOTOS BUT HASN'T YET FOUND ONE SHOWING SMITH



PRIDE BOY: In the alpine sport world Smith is an anomaly

also garnered respect among climbers, especially Canadians, for her own first climbing. "I was involved in the first ascent of Mount Everest in 1953," she says. "I was involved in the first ascent of Mount Everest in 1953." "I was involved in the first ascent of Mount Everest in 1953." "I was involved in the first ascent of Mount Everest in 1953."

At first, Hawley agreed on the idea that Rippel and Webster might have led her army. After hearing out Smith's protests, and considering accounts of Sherpas who said they had seen him on the mountain, she sent off a message that read the Sherpas' hopes. "I have had no real doubt about [your summit] myself," she wrote in a letter dated Aug. 16, 2001. "I am sorry that this question was at all." But the matter of the missing photo hung in the air, and the "disputed" photographs never disappeared from Smith's life.

In the meantime, accounts of his behaviour began to circulate that further stained Smith's reputation among fellow climbers. In 2001, mountaineers around the world were informed by a story Smith published

in before Smith. But his Indiana Jones-style account of bringing army officials and mountaineers to his past expeditions was said to have prompted John to cancel all climbing projects on the mountain. One venerable British mountaineer, Robert FitzRoy, claimed the was stopped en route to base camp by officials with a full copy of Smith's 18-page story.

Then, two years later, Smith's critics discovered a video image on his personal website whose origin seemed to suggest it showed him on the summit of Everest.

Smith's Successful Summit, May 21, 2006—"I can't say any higher," he said. "I said 'I said' before the popular one. Explorers

With one account Smith's vividly misrepresenting footage that actually showed a British climber, and another that showed him on the summit in May 2001. They had grasped the story with what they termed "Byron Smith's bad reputation"—the contracts containing gas orders, the challenge to his summit claim, his threat to leave to those who questioned his integrity. "Mount Everest is the most difficult of all mountains," the piece concluded. "Should he ever be able to prove his summit, Byron will have failed."

Smith responds to these attacks with things—and with rage. The video image was an oversight, he says, only, which he corrected by turning a disclaimer to his homepage to make it clear that summit images may not actually show him. He had purchased the footage from a British expedition the USIA, 2006, he says, so viewers could at least have an image of Everest at the summit. But the Canadian (system) charges and then

into a show (see "Alpine hulkster," he terms, growing anger as he considers the issue. "Was it illegal for me to climb it? You better believe it. It is not legal to go climb that mountain!" he says. "I know I did. I only saw who ever got over and done that?" He looks off to the side, he is about 70. "Alpine hulkster" he has been doing many, many times.

Maybe, but these disputes have served to increasingly the critics Smith needs to move over, and to what Hawley is clearly concerned. This grouping referred to as the "climbing community"—a shorthand label for the loose clique of alpine types around the globe who climb rocks, climb glaciers and go on expeditions. The Canadian area is generally understood to involve several alpine clubs based in Calgary, Canmore and Vancouver, where some are climbers and mountaineers' club members. "We're all," Rippel, Michael Dove and Geoff Power all belong. So does Pat Morrow, Canada's second man on Everest and a long-time critic of Smith's. Smith does not, which you can guess by reading the headlines against him on sites like *Low the mountain*, where members made news. "Maybe I'll say I believe him," says one chat room participant in a recent thread about Smith's lawsuit. "I'll get a good deal on a new truck."

Smith does, however, have one important advantage—a mate with enough pull in the climbing community to make others take notice. Laurie Ressler is the first Canadian to summit Mount Everest, he reached the peak parashut from a mountain in 1982. And while he has a reputation for eccentricity, the 50-year-old also possesses the guileless modesty Smith so desperately lacks. His attraction for Smith is framed in the terms of Tibetan spirituality, which Smith says is something of a Hindu deity. "There are seven levels of heaven and we all have one," he explains over coffee at his home in Canmore, Alta. "Byron's fate is tragic. I've wanted him about it in the past, and I think it's hard to look at him." "I've wanted him to be a kind of personal deity to me," he says. "I've wanted him to be a kind of personal deity to me." "I've wanted him to be a kind of personal deity to me." "I've wanted him to be a kind of personal deity to me."

So long ago, Ressler played the role that he could for Smith. He appeared directly to Hawley. Ressler and Morrow were in Nepal with a CBC crew watching his steps into base camp as part of a 25th anniversary documentary celebrating the 1982 expedition. Hawley was



ON THE SURFACE, this nation's economy looks pretty good, but compared to our global peers, there are signs of trouble and neglect

EXCLUSIVE REPORT: HOW TO FIX CANADA

ON THE BRINK

A new report, three years in the making, paints a stark picture of Canada's lagging performance and provides a road map for future economic success

BY PHILIP FRUTKIN • "We don't work enough." So said former Quebec premier Lucien Bouchard last month in a televised interview, tongue-lolling Quebecers for their poor work ethic. The premier's economic criticism, as he saw it, was akin to reminding water people had grown accustomed to a comfortable standard of living based on generous government programs and services—every life sign of a nation in health care to generous public pensions—but had given little thought to how these big gigs paid. "There is a level of comfort [right now] that is dangerous because the days ahead will not be easy, they will be very difficult," he said. His solution: "We must work more."

Work hard was half right, and not just about Quebec. Canada's economy has been underperforming for years. But the focus?

For all of us to put in extra time at the office? Canadians already have among the longest working weeks in the developed world, with most hours and less vacation time than most. On average, Canadians work roughly five more hours in America. The real problem is that, during those hours, we produce 20 per cent less output. Canadians don't need to work harder. We need to work smarter. How to do that, and thereby turn Canada into the most successful country in the 21st century, is the subject of a soon to be released Conference Board of Canada Report, three years in the making: "Mission Possible: Sustainable Prosperity for Canada."

On the surface, things look pretty good. Canada is enjoying low unemployment and low inflation. Our currency is stronger than it's been in a generation. Corporate profits

have been at a stratospheric Ottawa keeps picking up huge budget surpluses.

But in comparison to our global peers, Canada's economy shows signs of trouble and neglect. Twenty years ago, Canadian average income was \$1,000 less than that of the average American; by 1999 the gap had widened to a whopping \$6,000, and growing. In 1996, Canada ranked fifth in the world in per-capita income, now we're in 10th spot, surpassed by such countries as Ireland, Norway, the Netherlands, Denmark and Australia. The value of our exports has been growing, but that growth has been fueled almost entirely by energy and mining, in the world by far the most resource-rich, and relatively less of everything else. Our exports of goods to the United States, which stood at \$391 billion in 2000, have merely held steady, climbing to \$456 billion last year—more as consumption in America, Canada's largest trading partner, has been on an extended spending spree. Other countries are just as worried. For years we have lagged behind others in the pace of our economic growth and

World's largest economies

2001 GDP rankings by country at market exchange rates, US \$ 100



2000 GDP by country at market exchange rates, US \$ 100



CANADA IS STILL A GIGANTON—barely And not for much longer

productivity growth, and our share of foreign investment has also been falling down wards for nearly two decades.

It sounds like the kind of joke Canadians love to tell about themselves. Hey Canada, how are you doing? Modernity well, under the circumstances, and improving, but slow or stagnant, relatively speaking. Indeed, by some measures, Canada appears to be taking a beating in the global marketplace. The IMF is in September's World Economic Outlook predicts that 115 other countries' economies will grow faster than ours in 2007. Our GDP has fallen below two per cent of the world's total, and large enough to rank as eighth largest in the world. But we are slipping in the global rankings and, with countries such as Spain, Mexico and Brazil gaining fast, our place in the G8 club is increasingly more symbol than substance. (The Spanish media has been openly advocating that they should replace us in the G8.) "Nothing in our most open is broken," says Conference Board vice president and chief economist Glen Hodgson, "but nothing is optimized either. And we are losing ground as a result."

In 2001, the Conference Board, in Ottawa based, non-partisan think tank whose mission is to bring business people and policy makers together, realized that things were

grim and decided to act. In regular discussions with senior business and government leaders, a disturbing consensus emerged: even though the economy appeared to be firing on all cylinders, Canada was adrift. "We were a wealthy nation with no clear vision of how we fit into the world, and no plan for ensuring our continued prosperity," says Hodgson. In response, the Conference Board launched the most ambitious initiative in its 10-year history, the Canada Project, a three-year research program that would take off the rose-colored glasses, provide an honest assessment of where Canada stands, and chart a course for the future.

The Canada Project's final results are set to go in, with the forthcoming release of "Mission Possible: Sustainable Prosperity for Canada." The three-volume report, released exclusively to Maclean's in advance of its January publication, is perhaps the most comprehensive attempt to reexamine the



WORK HARDER? Mulroney got it wrong.

Canadian economy since the MacDonald commission more than 20 years ago. While that report's bold advice was to propose free trade with the United States, a major theme of "Mission Possible" is that the NAFTA agreement is now to date the changing global economy is rendering it insufficient.

Back in the 1980s, the G7 countries were the only ones that really mattered, accounting for the vast majority of the global economy, they were the focus of our trading efforts. Today, emerging economies—spurred by growth in Latin America and Asia, particularly China and India—now account for more than half of the planet's economic output. "It is a seismic shift in the global economy, and we have drifted," says Hodgson. "This change is permanent."

It's not a full-on or be killed battle of the fittest, where he who works most wins. This is where boulders hit it all wrong. Merely

glimping on the overtime is no solution. South Koreans try to compensate for their low productivity by working vastly more hours, but they still end up with incomes that are a fraction of Canada's. In a better approach for Canada is to value resources such as time. In fact, the Netherlands and Denmark all have strong social programs, even while acceding to environmental sustainability, and workweeks that are more productive than Canadian. That translates to a better standard of living, they work fewer hours and still generate more income per capita.

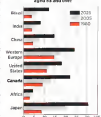
"No one has been talking about our economy being adrift, but it's an absolute fact," says Hodgson. "The things Canada does—above all, our standard of living, our natural environment, our health care and public education system—will become unsustainable if we don't act now."

"Mission Possible" sets out five key areas for improvement:

1. Creating a Canadian economic market. Other countries are coming to grips with a changing world, but Canada doesn't have a game plan. Given that trade policy hasn't been a priority in Ottawa for over a decade, some might say we don't even have a clue. It was back in 1984 when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney declared, in a speech to New York's business community, "Canada is open for business." When the existing Free Trade Agreement, and later NAFTA, came into effect, most Canadians believed that the complex, sometimes fustian job of opening up our economy—removing our artificial allocations the free flow of goods, services and investments—was over with. And people didn't realize, one day, we'd have

Growing older and older

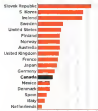
Percentage of the population aged 65 and over



LIKE MUCH OF the developed world, Canada is aging, and that will change growth

Productivity growth

Increase in labour productivity, 1993-2004



BACK OF THE CLASS: Even the French have better productivity growth than slowpoke Canada.

fine trade between the provinces too.

Two decades later, it's no laughing matter, says "Mission Possible." Every day, Canadian businesses fight through a tangled web of so-called non-tariff barriers: each level of government forces companies to re-register their business and to re-approve their staff, subject them to as many as approvals processes, procurement policies, technical requirements and environmental standards, and establishes their own disclosure and privacy regimes—often for the sole purpose of protecting a local industry from competition.

"Canada is trying to compete in a global economy," says Hodgson, "but we make it difficult for companies to even do business in a neighbouring province." Fully one-third of all businesses surveyed by the Conference Board said non-tariff barriers hindered their competitiveness, while 35 per cent said they had lost business because of them. The bar chart is especially detrimental to small business: a 2004 study by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce found that firms with less than 50 employees were more likely to shut down operations in provinces where they encountered a trade barrier. No surprise, then, that "Mission Possible" calls for the long overdue creation of a common market with in Canada, similar to the European Union.

Alberta and British Columbia put an end to those problems earlier this year when they signed the Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement, or TILMA—a wide-ranging pact that, in the words of Alberta Inter-governmental Affairs Minister Gary Mar, "will create the second largest economy in Canada," surpassed only by Ontario. The Conference Board predicts that removing barriers between the two provinces could add

as much as \$4.8 billion to Canada's GDP, E.C. predicts TILMA will create 78,000 jobs there. The TILMA agreement says that any other province willing to sign on must also mutually be accepted, and Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario have all opted out of doing so. "Mission Possible" is calling for more bold steps like TILMA.

Creating a Canadian common market also represents an ideal opportunity for enshrining principles of sustainability in the national economy. Surveys conducted by the Conference Board show that businesses are less concerned with what regulations say than with the time and cost of complying with them. In other words, they're glad to conduct the environmental assessment, but would prefer to have the feds and provinces agree on a single, common set of standards. "The common market is an opportunity to establish a new vision for environmentally sound growth and development, and to apply that vision across the country," says Hodgson.



NAFTA: Time to move beyond his legacy

2. New ideas, please—encourage innovation. Canada ought to be a global leader in innovation. Our workforce is highly educated, we rival the world for technological savvy, money and talent, and we have one of the most generous tax regimes for research and development. And yet, like a rocket ship sitting on the launch pad, our innovation efforts have produced surprisingly poor results.

There are some obvious trouble spots when it comes to Canada's ability to innovate. We score poorly in our collaborative efforts between business, government and universities, and we have fewer researchers in our labour force than we should. But the biggest problem is this: despite the favourable tax treatment—Canadian businesses lag behind most of their OECD counterparts in R&D spending, and the proportion of our GDP that we spend on R&D has actually been declining since 2000, while that of every European country is on the rise. Research suggests that innovative com-

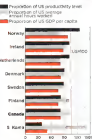
panies are more successful than others, they grow faster, are more productive and generate higher paying jobs. And when nations focus on generating so marketable products and services, they can also spur trade and prosperity. Think Sweden and Finland: both countries helped develop cellular technology, and as mobile phones have proliferated world wide, they continue to reap the benefits of research leadership. Canada is reaping the same benefits from its signature innovation success in wireless communications: the BlackBerry. "We should have dozens of BlackBerry-style success stories," says Hodgson. "We ought to imagine our future as the BlackBerry economy." We ought to be developing new technologies, registering patents, creating a base of research and selling our innovations worldwide.

"Our economy represents about 1.8 per cent of global GDP, and that's not likely to grow," says Hodgson. "The real question is, what is the best way to ensure it doesn't shrink further?" What will our 1.8 per cent look like 20 years from now? Will it be oil, lumber, math and other raw materials? Or will it be innovative products and services that people around the world will pay a premium for?"

3. NAFTA is no longer enough—encourage trade with America, while making China a more meaningful partner. In 1995, 70 per cent of all Canadian exports went to the United States; by 2004, that figure had risen to 84 per cent. And yet, according to "Mission Possible," "NAFTA is a major agreement that has largely stalled." One problem is that, even as

Productivity and output

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open. "While this does have the effect of keeping the operation going," the board warns, "not doing so purpose the obsolescence of the mill or inspire, as compensation." In the late 1990s, for example, B.C. subsidised the Skeena cellulosic mill in Prince Rupert to avoid a shutdown. When the mill finally closed in 2001, the cost to the province was \$125 million. The board suggests industry and provincial government work together to anticipate which mills are at risk, and develop plans to help the affected towns diversify their economies. Quebec appears ready to accept permanent shutdowns. After a spate of recent mill closures, Premier Jean Charest announced more than 2,000 jobs in over four years to help the industry restructure, while providing funding to communities. "This is the manner to be kind and fresh," he said recently, "and recognise that a restructuring has consequences."

At the same time, the board argues governments could encourage innovation. Pulp mills can be adapted to become "the industries" capable of producing enzymes, fuels or chemicals from underused mill residue. By gasifying black liquor, a recycled by-product of the pulp process, a mill can produce syngas, which can be converted into power. It's already happening: earlier this year, Tolle Industries launched a new energy plant at its Hattley Creek plywood mill near Kamloops. The plant, built by Vancouver-based Northern Energy, converts mill waste to syngas that Tolle uses to replace natural gas.

Ottawa has taken some steps to promote biomass production through tax breaks. The board urges the government to go further, and give the same financial incentives to biomass energy used to generate power. Ottawa should also follow the lead of the U.S., which offers grants to make it cheaper to keep forest biomass that's used to produce electricity. With these sorts of changes, the board argues, even Canada's outdated pulp and paper mills could rise to meet global competition.

Agri-food

Canadians have never been more passionate about their food. They flock to gourmet organic grocery stores, dine at exotic Asian fusion restaurants, and feast on TV cooking shows. But in an era of genetically modified foods, ever more powerful pesticides and new, untested foods, consumers are also demanding to know exactly where their eggs or loaf of bread came from. And they're willing to pay a premium for that knowledge. In Canada's riskiest agri-food sector is ill-equipped to meet these needs. "Agriculture in Canada is 20 or 30 years behind other industries," says

Still hewers of wood and drawers of water

Percentage of Canadian exports, 2005



Thousands of workers in sector, 2006



NATURAL RESOURCES continue to play a vital role in the Canadian economy



CLEAN ENERGY: It's more than windmills

Harper's been calling Canada an 'energy superpower.' The board doesn't think he's going far enough.

Martin Gooch, a research associate at the George Morris Centre, an agriculture think tank at the University of Guelph. "It's like looking at how Toyota farms compared to GM to see how much competitive advantage you can get by working with your supplier."

The Conference Board argues that our agri-food sector needs a major overhaul. It may have boasted as exports by 8% per cent to more than \$20 billion since 2000, but our share of global exports, after growing from 3.1 per cent in 1995 to 4.1 per cent in 2001, has since fallen back to 3.7 per cent. The drop can be traced to the hysteresis over mad cow disease, as well as a severe drought in 2001, but reasons of old age and regulatory backlogs are hurting Canada's competitiveness.

For one thing, producers can't get their hands on certain additives and environmentally friendly pesticides that are available to farmers in Europe and the U.S. According to the George Morris Centre, which worked with the Conference Board on its report, animal drug companies do extensive R&D in Canada, but the final product is often only available in other countries. "The approval system is slower in Canada than anywhere else," says Chof Berthou, a senior researcher at the centre. "A farmer in the U.S. has access to better drugs than here."

Meanwhile, consumers are leaving the grocery store aisles for food with specific characteristics, but regulations here are slow to adapt approval and labelling rules. There is no system in place to approve so-called "functional foods" like Omega-3 eggs and oilseed-enriched onions that quickly, says Berthou, despite their popularity and increasing shelf-life rules. Producers from marketing low-carbohydrate food. "The government urges the sector to differentiate and diversify," the board says, "but does not bring to change a regulatory system that rewards innovation and makes innovation costly."

Farmers are now also faced with the very modern problem of managing the environment, given the growing awareness that heavy pesticide use near certain wildlife habitats is weakening. One option is to pay farmers to stop farming, at least in environmentally sensitive areas. The board advocates compensating producers for the "natural capital" they preserve. The concept faces hurdles, not the least of which is how to value the benefits of clean air and water. There are pilot projects in Ontario and Manitoba, and the World Bank has looked at ways to value environmental benefits. "In the near future," the board believes, "it is likely that these types of policy mechanisms and valuation techniques will gain more prominence in Canada."

Mining

Steven Dean knows a thing or two about mining in Canada. When he was president of Vancouver-based Tyco Corp., he helped merge the company with Canaccord Ltd. in 2001, creating one of the country's largest miners. And like many executives who leave jobs at major mining companies, he went on to manage a junior exploration effort. But a few months ago, while choosing between two copper projects in which to invest, one here, the other in South America, the decision came down to taxes—and the Canadian project lost out. "The post-tax economics were definitely in favour of the South American project," says Dean. "It reminded us, quite concisely, of the impact of tax on projects here."

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Hub cities: Drivers of the Canadian economy



80% PER CENT of Canadians live in major urban centres where the bulk of the nation's economic wealth is concentrated. Ten hub cities produce more than half of Canada's GDP. The Conference Board says immigration is the main driver of growth across their regions.

the constitutional transfer of powers, and lack legislative power to match their growing economic might. "The fundamental fact about that new cities remains a justice level of government," says Anne Golden, president and CEO of the Conference Board.

Out of all the tax paid by Canadians, 46 per cent goes to the federal government, 42 per cent to the provincial governments, while less than eight per cent goes to municipal governments, says the Federation of Canadian Municipalities. Outside of raising property taxes (a city's main source of revenue), municipal governments have few avenues to find the kind of sustainable revenue they need. The central system of relying on grant money is "personnel and bubbles," says Glen Murray, an urban consultant and a former mayor of Winnipeg. "You're using property taxes to pay for social services and public health, and then you're not needed to do it." In coming years, cities will need to raise billions more to keep up with the need for new infrastructure, says the Conference Board. According to the FCM, the infrastructure deficit is about \$60 billion and growing. This kind of fiscal imbalance is mostly unsustainable under the current system.

In the last two years, there have been some forward-looking changes, such as the federal government's decision in 2007 to give municipalities a share of the gasoline tax, and commitments in the 2006 federal budget for spending on infrastructure and immigration settlement. But most importantly, says the Conference Board, since the 1990s, responsibility for many services has been off-loaded by higher levels of government and headed on cities, notes the board. From the late, major

cities have been handed more responsibility for things such as maintenance of local airports and immigration settlement. In some provinces, cities have been handed a growing share of the bill for mental, social assistance and child care.

Immigration has also helped address budget deficits on cities. Although immigration is controlled by the federal and provincial governments, many of the costs (from affordable housing to settlement services) are

Cash flow: Where cities get their revenues



and with immigration now rest on the shoulders of municipal governments. And those costs have been rising, in part because many firms in recent decades have had less economic success than in previous generations and are taking longer to close earnings gaps with new immigrant workers.

The Conference Board says a fundamental change in the way cities are funded is needed—one that doesn't simply give more money to all cities, but focuses spending on Canada's major cities. Its research suggests that the success and growth of Canada's major cities "provides an even faster rate of economic growth in other communities within their province or region." These major cities, defined by the board as any with a population over one million, plus those that lead their regions in economic growth, include Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Halifax, Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, and Ottawa.

"The time for Canadians to recognize that it is in the collective long-term benefit of all citizens to support government funding policies that would give major cities the resources they need to succeed," says the Conference Board.

Although the idea of giving more money to the biggest cities has been supported by urban thinkers like Jane Jacobs, it remains a controversial proposal. Many smaller centres are also growing rapidly—Abbotsford, B.C., Port McNeill, B.C., Kitchener-Waterloo, Ont. They, too, need substantial funding. "We're not saying don't give any support to other cities," says the Conference Board's Golden. "We're saying, let's find a way to make sure that the big cities can't just be the problem to be solved."

If the largest cities have a greater potential to contribute to our national well-being, they also have special needs that set them apart, says the Conference Board. Currently, the federal government provides provinces with money through grants and transfer payments that are in turn handed to all cities to support things like affordable housing and transit. The funds are typically handed down on a per capita basis. "While this might appear fair," it ignores the distinctive and more intense needs of major cities," says the report. There appears to be a "disproportionate of costs" for big cities—as the city grows, services begin to cost more and more, not less.

Federal programs are meant to promote equality, but the board argues that they sometimes end up discriminating against large cities. For example, employment insurance programs provide lower benefits to urban, unemployed workers than to seasonal workers in rural communities. In Toronto, 22 per cent of the unemployed receive regular benefits compared to 75 per cent of unemployed workers in P.E.I. and Newfoundland, says

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the Conference Board.

Beyond mere transfer payments from provincial and federal governments, cities need new sources of revenue, like sales taxes and payroll taxes, says the report. Sales taxes, for instance, have been used successfully in cities throughout the United States. Unlike property taxes, they spread the tax burden because only those who use city services. Road occupancy taxes, which have raised millions in revenue for many municipalities, should also be considered, says the Conference Board.

Not all the news is bad. Canada has prospered over the past decade. Important steps have been taken to ensure economic growth, like the federal government's wrangling of the federal deficit. Still, cracks in the rosy picture are emerging. "Canada addressed its federal deficit," says Golden. "But people are starting to realize that a lot of that was done by burying that deficit in the ground through spending of infrastructure projects." Recently by the Conference Board suggests that fiscal problems within cities will only worsen under the new regime. "The downward message," says Golden, "is, give Canada's major cities the resources and support they need and resources so they can drive the country's economy."

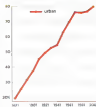
The growth of Canada's cities, and the transition from a rural to an urban country, has not been painless. City economies have



boomed, but so have disparities within the population base who grow. Things that offset quality of life in cities, such as pollution, housing shortages and crime, have worsened. Left unaddressed, these problems could make a city not a less desirable place to live, attracting fewer in ability to earn, business, skilled workers and investment. "We're seeing in our cities more or quality problems, more concentration of poverty," says Golden. "There are indications in social issues, a deterioration in infrastructure, a deterioration in increased gridlock, and as a result you're seeing more opportunities."

Langscape are the days when Canadians, like Toronto and Montreal, compete against each other. Today, cities compete internationally for their share of business, investment and the most skilled, creative workers. All of these tend to flow toward cities that are most li-

Farmers no more
Canada's urban population as a percentage of total population



able and where there is a high quality of life. "Canada's morning commutes force direct investments and we know that comes at the city level," says Brenda Lafrance, one of the authors of the Conference Board report. "It's Toronto competing against Beijing and Shanghai."

Cities will need to find ways to promote environmentally sound growth through things like eco-friendly industrial parks that reduce and recycle waste and improve local

To deal with gridlock, the Conference Board says cities may have to emulate London (left) and impose road tolls

cohesion through better management and an investment in affordable housing by provincial and federal governments, says the Conference Board.

But one of the single biggest obstacles facing cities is traffic. It can almost single-handedly crush a city's quality of life while sucking billions from municipal coffers. As commuters in just about every city across the country are well aware, road networks in the largest cities are frustratingly clogged, unable to keep up with current volumes of cars and trucks. On a typical day in Toronto, the 401, one of the busiest highways in North America, is a mess of unending traffic. The scene is little better on roads throughout

8 C's Lower Mainland, or in parts of Calgary. This congestion, says the Conference Board, not only limits the competitiveness of urban centers by adding to pollution and energy use, but affects the national economy by delaying the movement of goods. Ancient Transportation Canada report estimated that congestion on Canada's roads cost the nation's huge largest urban areas \$2.1 to \$3.7 billion.

More and more, urban populations have spread far and wide to surrounding suburbs and towns. At the same time, however, government subsidies to public transit have decreased—as has ridership.

How to deal with this transportation choice? The Conference Board says cities will have to consider measures such as road tolls and restrictions on automobile use. Singapore, for example, issues permits that allow commuters to be used only on weekdays. Road tolls are common worldwide around the world to alleviate congestion while funding municipal budgets. London, England, introduced a congestion charge to reduce traffic in its city core. Tolls might also be used to help finance road construction, says the Conference Board. Urban transit, on the other hand, might be improved by simple measures like giving buses more right of way on roads, says the report. Better land use planning by city and provincial governments would reduce urban sprawl and also improve transportation.

The missing catalyst Canadian cities need to become sustainable and internationally competitive cities is strong leadership, says the Conference Board. "It's not just mayors," says Golden. "We have to expect more from our city governments." Successful cities will have to draw on partnerships with business, community and academic leaders, says the report. Forging connections with the various levels of government is also essential. Some "jurisdictional entanglements" between various levels of government will be needed to develop policies on things like transportation, immigration, environment, and affordable housing, notes the report.

"All citizens should be worried that Canada's major cities are struggling to stay competitive," says the report. It's a warning echoed by experts like Brookman. "We can't compete globally as a municipality taking on this kind of growth if we're going to continue to perpetuate the mediocrity of a city." ■

GODD COP ALMOST FIRED BY WIFE'S COOKING

An administrative judge recommended that Anthony Choleff, a 22-year police veteran, be fired for the Joint Terrorism Task Force in New York. He was arrested last week after hearing the news that his wife had fed a murder drug lord for six years. An investigation had revealed that the police officer's wife admitted she had served him marijuana food with pot because she wanted to keep him from being hurt on duty by forcing him into retirement.



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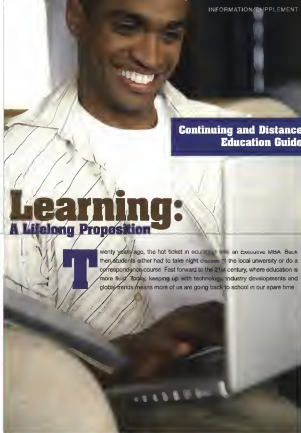
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**Continuing and Distance
Education Guide**

Learning: A Lifelong Proposition

Twenty years ago, the hot ticket in education was an Executive MBA. Back then students either had to take night classes at the local university or do a correspondence course. Fast forward to the 21st century, where education is more fluid. Today, keeping up with technology, industry developments and global trends means more of us are going back to school in our spare time.

INFORMATION SUPPLEMENT

"It's all about lifelong education," says Dr. Alan Middleton, Executive Director, Schulich Executive Education Centre (SEEC) at York University's Schulich School of Business. "We tell our MBA students that after three years their knowledge will be out of date. That's why they need to continually upgrade."

The Internet has shaped the way distance and continuing education are delivered. No longer do students need to be on campus to learn. They can simply log on to their courses. E-learning has been a boon for those living in remote areas without access to a college or university. Mentoring and peer interaction have made online education as effective as in-classroom learning.

Whether it's for professional development, finishing a degree, doing graduate work or simply for personal interest, Canadians have embraced continuing education.

Take F-16 military pilot Captain Steve Valko of Cold Lake, Alta., as an example. He keeps a busy schedule, sometimes flying out at the spur of the moment. That's why online education is a must. A graduate of the Royal Military College's online Leadership & Ethics course, Valko found himself logging on to do his assignments in Ontario, Tennessee and North Carolina. "For guys who have to travel, online is great. I know people posted in Afghanistan who are doing the course," he says.

Valko has nothing but praise for the three-month credit course. "It should be mandatory for all officers. You may think you're a good leader, but this course makes you better and teaches you how to be more efficient." The course has been so popular with the military that it has now been opened up to civilians.

"The next generation of students is very tech-savvy, so we want to make sure we accommodate their learning needs."

No matter where you live...

Accessibility is a watchword at Athabasca University. In fact, the school's motto cites its commitment to removing all barriers to education, regardless of location, income, lifestyle or prior academic achievement. A leader in distance education, Athabasca provides opportunities for students who can't attend a university campus. Fees are among the lowest in Canada, with books and other materials included in tuition costs. The open admissions policy means students can start a course when it's convenient, rather than wait for the beginning of a semester.



INFORMATION SUPPLEMENT

Care attention is paid to student demand when it comes to course delivery. "We use any method that suits the learner," says Dr. Pats Perrekoek, President of Athabasca. "Our students are older (26 to 29) and they learn differently, more independently. The next generation of students is very tech-savvy, so we want to make sure we accommodate their learning needs."

To that end, Athabasca's entire library is PDA-compliant. Students can load and access information on their cell phones, PDA's, BlackBerries, Palm Pilots and other Personal Digital Assistant (PDA) devices. They're also able to interact with each other and their instructors via mobile text messaging. "Mobile learning is something we are pursuing very aggressively and it will go a long way to removing barriers," says Perrekoek.

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Distance offerings include university certificates, diplomas, three-year or four-year Bachelor's degrees, and Master's degrees. Athabasca serves 34,000 students, a number that has doubled in six years.

The University of Waterloo's first online course was created in 1995 by an instructor in the English department. But there was little involvement from the distance education department, recalls Catherine Newell Kelly, Interim Director, Distance and Continuing Education. By fall 1996, it was clear that the Internet was the future of distance education and Newell Kelly's department had four online courses. The first web developers were hired that year, and today the development team has grown to 10 web developers and two online learning consultants. Currently Waterloo has close to 100 fully online courses with 40 more planned for the coming year.

"The move to an online environment has been very positive for students. It gives them opportunities to interact with each other, with their instructors, and with the content in much more significant ways. As technologies evolve, so will we," says Newell Kelly.

It's easy to sign up

The Canadian Virtual University (CVU) has made online education easier for students since 2000. A single website—www.cvu.uwo.ca—provides information about the 12 member schools' online and distance university courses. More than 2,600 courses and over 300 degree/diploma/certificate programs are offered, and CVU has 100,000 students, 10,000 of whom are at the graduate level.

Vicky Busch, CVU's Executive Director, says many course offerings reflect the needs of business, citing the growth of specialized Executive MBA programs. "Students want to tailor their MBAs for leadership in health care, education and the government sector." Another sign that education is meeting the needs of business is the 800 per cent enrolment increase in the University of New Brunswick's Health and Safety certificate program she adds.

In Ontario, 22 community colleges have partnered to develop and deliver online courses. This partnership, called OntarioLearn.com, now allows students access to over 800 different courses. According to Linda Rees, Chair of OntarioLearn.com and Dean, School of Part-time Studies at Algonquin College: "This cooperative approach

Conferences

Canadian Association of Distance Education and AMTEC 2007 distance educator conference will be held in Winnipeg, Manitoba, May 13 - 16, 2007. For more information, visit www.cade-aced.ca

The Canadian Association for University Continuing Education (CAUCE) annual conference will be held at University of Alberta in Edmonton, May 30-June, 2007. For more information, visit www.cauce2007.ca

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www.caucse-aspect.ca - Canadian Association for University Continuing Education

www.cdu-uvu.ca - Canadian Virtual University

www.OntarioLearn.com - OntarioLearn.com

www.uiconcordia.com - eConcordia

www.mcgill.ca/conted - McGill University

www.nait.ca - Northern Alberta Institute of Technology

www.sask.ab.ca - Saskatchewan Institute of Applied Art and Design

www.sait.ab.ca - Southern Alberta Institute of Technology
www.athabascau.ca - Athabasca University
www.cmc.ac.ab.ca - University of Alberta
www.concordia.ca - University of Calgary
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Faculty development is a critical component of online course delivery, Francis says. "New SJSK faculty members not only learn how to teach online, they learn what it means to be an online student by taking part in a faculty certificate program that includes online courses. We also provide workshops for existing faculty on how to use technology in teaching."

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SIASST has four campuses throughout the province with 12 000 students in programs that touch every sector of the economy. SIASST offers 130 courses online and creates some 35 new ones each year.

Among the University of Alberta's continuing education offerings is Canada's only Master of Arts degree in Communications & Technology. Since it began in 2000, the program has attracted students from such high-profile organizations as Microsoft Corporation headquarters and the United Nations in New York City. "The program focuses on the principles of human communication and explores how and why we use technology to expand audiences and intensify messages," says Dr. Marco Adria, the program's director. Not surprisingly, the program relies strong use of technology. The program provides a web-based teaching and learning environment.

Students use MSN and text-based chat to facilitate student-instructor exchanges. Podcasts let students access audio examples and lectures at their convenience, explains Adria. The two-year part-time program is delivered in a blended format, combining online and in-classroom courses.

Concordia launched eConcordia in 2000 as a new venture in distance education. From one online engineering course, the university now offers 10 courses, with four new ones planned for January. The goal for eConcordia is 35 new courses in the next two years.

The idea of eConcordia, says Kicou Madala, Director, Business Development, is not to compete with the university but to complement it with its completely online offerings. The response has been phenomenal, with an average growth in enrollments of 64 per cent from year to year. During the past academic year, enrollment reached 9,500. "Because our courses are 100-per-cent web-based, students can travel and some even return to their home countries for the summer and finish their courses there. Students can also arrange to visit their first in-class exams there."

In some instances, in-classroom instruction will never go out of style. Many students in The Insurance Institute of Canada's Chartered Insurance Professionals (CIP) program still choose to take their courses in a classroom, rather than electronically, although student education is popular with those students who want more flexibility in their scheduling.

What's Hot for 2006/2007

- Biomedical Ethics at eConcordia
- Justice and Public Safety Leadership certificate at University of Victoria
- Forensic Investigation degree option at British Columbia Institute of Technology
- Orientation to Nursing in Canada for Internationally Educated Nurses at Saskatchewan Institute of Applied Science & Technology
- Master of Public Health (MPH) degree at University of Waterloo
- Introduction to Forensic Psychology at Memorial University through www.cmc-mcgill.ca
- Sustainable Enterprise Academy at Schulich School of Business, York University
- Certificate for Emerging Leaders at University of Calgary
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- Master of Engineering in Design & Manufacturing, developed by a partnership of engineering and business schools at Ontario universities. Visit www.edmcanada.com

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Videoconference students are joined by others who can hear and see the instruction.



Says Caroly-Ann Greenham, the Institute's Director, Business Development, "Insurance is all about building relationships, so the students like the opportunity to exchange ideas and to network."

The Institute is a pioneer in distance education, having offered some form of it since its inception in 1899. Greenham says. Currently, it has 18,000 active students studying for the CIP, which is the property/casualty industry's professional premier education program. Recognized internationally, the 10-course CIP offers courses in-class, distance education with on-line tutorials, as well as some courses completely online. The Institute, in partnership with universities, also offers the more advanced Fellow, Chartered Insurance Professional (FCIP) designation program.

You're guaranteed quality

Distance education is only as good as the quality of its programs and courses, says Dr. Alan Shepard, Associate Vice-President, Academic, University of Guelph. "It's not enough to keep building new courses and never revisit them. We spend an enormous amount of money re-investing in our existing courses to make sure they're up to date and maintaining their quality."

Guelph has some 20,000 distance and continuing education students. Credit courses are obtained through distance education while continuing education courses are non-credit and certificate training. Guelph's Open Learning Program offers students "a second chance" to obtain or finish a degree part-time. After completing four credits through distance education, they can apply for a regular degree program.

One of Guelph's goals is to internationalize its campus, says Shepard. "We're using distance courses to get our domestic students involved with our international ones. A 'winning project' next year will use different technologies to pair up professors teaching the same course here and in another country. At the same time, their students will team up to work together online or via teleconferencing. We see this as a low-cost and innovative way of getting students to interact internationally."



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Student do practical components that accompany theoretical information provided by Videoconference.

Let technology bring learning to life

The Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT) has a long history of using technology in program delivery. So much so that it's built into the institute's mandate. NAIT's e-learning strategy ensures that online students receive a quality education in an activity-based environment, says Eleanor Fenderson, Dean, Technology and Curriculum Innovation. "Learners are looking for options, and we provide opportunities for them to acquire a NAIT diploma or degree." Whether online or blended (partially delivered in a classroom), course design is based on student need yet mindful of business and industry requirements.

As Canada's leading apprenticeship insurer—it has 35 programs—NAIT has pushed the envelope by using multimedia and Internet technology for training. Students can view 3D animations covering subjects from fire safety to building codes to operating a boom truck.

Because the "human touch" is an integral part of the learning experience, NAIT uses technology like videoconferencing to reach remote areas. NAIT D.A.T.E. (Distance Apprenticeship Training and Education) is an experiment using videoconferencing over Alberta's SuperNet to deliver the theory portion of trades training. Says Bill Fricke, NAIT's Technology Integration & Marketing Innovation Consultant: "Students can live and work in their home communities and avoid the financial and social costs associated with moving to a campus. Online distance education allows us to respond more quickly to the skills shortage. We don't need to worry about bricks and mortar."

A diagnostic image viewer created by NAIT Multimedia Services allows students in the online Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI) course to view high quality X-ray images as fast as the click of a mouse.

INFORMATION SUPPLEMENT

Skills training even goes on the road with NAIT in Motion. Two state-of-the-art mobile units deliver electrical, pipe trades and welding training to remote areas. NAIT is also working with a corporate client to bring distance courses to workers at the oil sands projects in Fort McMurray.

Work at your own pace

The University of Toronto's Centre for Environment had requests from around the world for its environmental distance education courses. In 2003, the Centre responded with e-Certificates in Environmental Management. The following year, a Certificate in Geographical Information Systems (GIS) for Environmental Management and an Advanced Certificate in Environmental Management were added. In 2007, students will be able to study for a Certificate in Renewable Energy.

"Most of our students have families or full time jobs. With distance learning, there is no commuter time or expense and students can work at their own pace. Beyond the flexibility, they're looking for a challenging and engaging educational experience," says Donna Workman, the Centre's Manager, Program Development and External Relations. The programs have been a runaway success, with enrolment growing some 500 per cent since 2003.

The Institute of Canadian Bankers (ICB) has been providing continuing education for financial services professionals since 1957. Since then, over 250,000 students have earned a specialized ICB diploma and/or certificate. Executive Director Marie Muldowney says today most courses have an online component and the Institute is looking at the next generation of e-learning for future expansion. "The need for continuing education will keep growing," says Muldowney. "You can't practice in this industry without keeping up. And with technology, things are moving faster than ever."

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Eight years ago, I realized that providing a distance education program was critical to making our Institute of Applied Communications and Professional Studies (IAPC) more accessible to students. I then knew that if we were to be successful, we would need to offer a program that was flexible, affordable, and accessible to students who could not attend our campus.

In order to accomplish this goal, I needed to go back to school myself.

Through my extensive search for a program that offered the best of both worlds, I discovered the Institute of Applied Communications and Professional Studies (IAPC) at the University of Waterloo. The program provided solid theory in distance education and offered the flexibility needed to deliver our own program into a competitive and creative online distance delivery system.

The fact that students and instructors could meet and interact online is not a given anywhere. At Athabasca University,

Master of Science Education degree continues to be one of the cornerstones of my research in adult and experiential learning and online learning and I am proud to be able to further my education at the program.

Linda Mann, M.Sc.
Instructor and Advisor
Technical Communication
Bachelor of Applied Communications in
Professional Studies
Lester B. Pearson College of Communications
University of Waterloo
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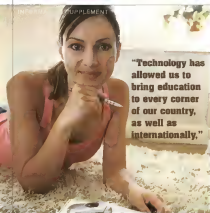
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Fast Facts

- OntarioLearn.com, a partnership of 22 community colleges offering online education, has seen a 21% increase in students from 2004 to 2005.
- Since it was established in 2000, the Canadian Virtual University has grown from two to 12 member schools offering 2,900 courses and over 300 degrees/diploma/certificate programs.
- eConcordia, created by Concordia University's foundation started with one course in 2000. Enrollments increase an average of 64% annually.
- The Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT) is Canada's leading trainer of apprenticeship with its 35 programs.

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Stay on top of your game

Succession planning for educational leaders is an area of growing concern. This prompted the University of Calgary, one of the country's most respected research universities, to launch Canada's first online doctoral program in 2003. Offered through the Faculty of Education, the four-year program allows students to continue in their careers while working towards a Doctor of Education (EdD). Only 20 students a year are accepted and they are nurtured and encouraged to bond via a summer program during the first two years, says Dr. Cherie Webber, Associate Dean, Graduate Division of Educational Research. "These students become part of our international community, exchanging ideas and information. It's a global world and you need these networks to be at the top of your game."

Public Security and Terrorism is a timely new credit course from eConcordia. "The course covers more than the Middle East," says Patrick Dawy, eConcordia's Director, Research & Development. "It goes all over the world and within our own borders, covering law enforcement, the governance side and how terrorism affects public policy." Another new course beginning in January is Global Conflict in the Middle East, taught by Middle East expert Henry Habb.

Seneca College in Toronto recently exported its expertise to Hong Kong with a post graduate certificate program in Forensic Accounting. The part-time program is geared to industry professionals requiring technical skills and practical knowledge in investigative techniques, law and ethics, computer forensics, and research tools and practices. Delivered at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University by Seneca and PolyU faculty, it's a combination of face-to-face lectures and online learning. Says Cam McCabe, Seneca forensic accounting professor, "In today's sophisticated business world, fraud is increasingly seen as a trans-global issue. It's essential that expertise is shared to prevent, detect, and investigate financial wrongdoings."

There are also plans to grow internationally at eConcordia, with its "A Year at a Distance" program where foreign students can take their first year of studies online from home with added-value English instruction. After that, they may transfer to Concordia to complete their degrees.

Keep on learning

There's a strong link between continuing education and the betterment of communities, economically and socially, says Dr. Wes Kozicki, President of the Canadian Association for University Continuing Education (CAUDE) and Dean of Continuing Studies at the University of Victoria. For instance, in British Columbia alone, continuing education programs from the four major universities generates some \$100 million a year to their local economies.

Skills training will remain a growth area, says Jamie Rosseter, President of the Canadian Association for Distance Education. "As the shortage of skilled workers intensifies, business and post-secondary institutions will end up working closer together on training," he says, pointing to companies already working with institutions such as NAIT. Online English and French language courses will also be in demand, he adds.

The interest in lifelong learning will continue unabated, boding well for distance education. "Technology has allowed us to bring education to every corner of our country, as well as internationally," Rosseter says.



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★ ONES TO WATCH ★

Canvassed art, and an actress who's canvassed Hollywood. A werewolf fan, and a historian's secrets of Stanley Park

It was in 1958, 70 years after the founding of Vancouver's Stanley Park, when the last writer moved out of its precincts. Despite the West Coast notion that the park has always been virgin land, Jesse Blumenthal's [1] new history, *Stanley Park's Secret*, shows that many native and immigrant groups lived on the site before and after it became a park. Along with James Delgado's *Waterfront*, Blumenthal's new history won the 2006 City of Vancouver Book

Award. Among the revelations in her history of the park is once being a community of Hawaiian who worked the far side

Oscar winner Gao Mianchun [2] says she's tired of Hollywood. Last weekend, she announced that she would henceforth heart her film work to three months a year. Blumenthal has returned to her native Australia to become joint creative director of the Sydney Theatre Company, alongside

her husband, playwright Andrew Upton. Although she may be in up-coming Oscar contention for her newest role opposite Brad Pitt in *Raiders*, Blumenthal told a news conference: "The acceptance of the role of co-creative director is not a dalliance. It is a first commitment."

Set and costume designer Danny Lyne [3], away from his love of literary and spiritual spending? Indeed, she says that a fascination with narrative when she was growing up as an theatre home in Montreal probably saved her. "It kept

me from plunging off the Jacques Cartier Bridge," she said last month when she received the 2006 Simulacrum Prize. At \$200,000, it's Canada's richest theatre award. Lyne's career work included design for *The Wong Foo* at the National Arts Centre. He, despite the award money, Lyne says a life in the theatre is a tough one. "I once seriously considered that I'd done a design for \$6.35 an hour."

Jack Farhead-Pose [4] has a habit of mentoring herself. A headstrong and a deputy mayor under the Shuk of Iran, she was studying architecture when her family's

assets were confiscated during the Islamic revolution in 1979. She bounced back by creating a children's clothing line in Tehran that would employ 1,000 people. After moving to Canada in 1984, Farhead-Pose continued coming to Iran, where she created the country's first shelter for abused women. Now she's designing jewelry. Her pieces, selling from \$600 to \$10,000, are on display in wearable art at Toronto's prestigious Sandra Amley Gallery, with proceeds going to her Iranian women's shelter.

Mark McKelvey [5] swept the Gemini this year, picking up

writing and acting awards for his work on *Skins* and *Arrested*, the Movie Network comedy-drama about a small-town Shakespeare-themed company. His co-star, Martha Burns [6], also won her category for best actress, putting the 20th total Gemini count up to 11. But don't expect to catch the show's next season—after three years, *Skins* and *Arrested* has shuttered the theatre.

Minimal artist David Almeida [7] is an owed fan of David Cronenberg, and you can see the inspiration in his abstract, geometric works, which often combine leather and synthetic

hair along with glass and mirrors. The 32-year-old has been chosen by a three-member jury to represent Canada at the 2007 Venice Biennale. Although he's still working on the Canadian pavilion's exhibit, look out for a work based on Almeida's attraction to bodies multiplying and reacting, possibly using motifs of birth or werewolves. "I work with werewolf parts and figures, which are very human like," he told an interviewer. "When I work, the body is like a creature where I can lose myself."

The Toronto Daily Bread Food Bank is closing its shelves to make

room for the leftovers of *Constructions* [8], the canned food sculpture competition held at the North American cities throughout the year, including Calgary and Vancouver in the spring. With some of the city's most talented artists, designers and engineers participating, the entries are fun and fully edible. Last year, the team from Desmond and Schmidt Architects used 14,000 kg of pasta to make *March of the Penguins* which, after "deconstruction," were tracked off to the food bank. Says Construction's winning coordinator, Chris Helen Kohnen, "It's the largest supply of food in one night that they ever have." ■

1: JESSE BLUMENTHAL; 2: GAO MIANCHUN; 3: DANNY LYNE; 4: JACK FARHEAD-POSE; 5: MARK MCKELVEY; 6: MARTHA BURNS; 7: DAVID ALMEIDA; 8: DAVID ALMEIDA

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THE BACK PAGES

books

Phantom of the left
P.84

film

One worthy or
consideration
P.85

music

A small-town
born band
P.86

stage

The red hats
are coming
P.88

taste

The Fred
Flintstone diet
P.89

humour

K-Fed and
D-Bum's exit
P.90

MAGNETS: GARY STAFF



She's the madwoman in the attic

Poor Paul. It's all seeming so very Jane Eyre-ish. There's a reason for that. BY ROSALIND MILES

media

It's never fun to be dumped. When Paul McCartney lashed out at Heather Mills last night, it says a lot about the couple's intense sympathy normally given to a high profile divorcee. All the goodwill went to her unceremonious dumper, causing yet another item on Heather's grievance list. So it wasn't going to be pretty from the start. She claimed he locked her out of the London house and froze all the bank accounts, leaving her braving up their toddler on a doormat, and struggling for cash. His side bit it to know that his spending habits were out of control, and the disclosure was only his way of protecting the staff. And these were just the opening salvoes.

Robbing their funds, the assorted lies, cynics and sensitive managers of the British press deliberately anticipated the most poisonous celebrity divorce since 1963, when the Duke of York ditched his duchess to court by producing photographs of her moaning and wailing alone in bed with another well-known man. Loose, fully clothed, and with a head ascribed by a less eye or more explicit photograph, the duchess's lover was a striking resemblance to Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., thus neatly combining film star appeal with astro-mongers. But even that did little to pale in comparison with the divorce of the Great or Loving People and the one-legged-as-penn model. As the press fanned the flames, the number of all barbs degenerated into pure soap opera, with rumours flying like curly flames a fan, the frazzled hair, "kill the bitch" - a pregnant Sofia McCannery is reported to have screamed after hearing rumours Heather's allegations that Paul hit his

first wife, Linda. "Heather a psychopath?" Could it get any sicker, any sicker or more toxic? Indeed it could. Only days later, Heather was riddled with allegations of impersonation and fraud. Before marrying Paul, she the short list for a TV presenter's job in the late nineties, she apparently allowed the producer to think that she was an investigative journalist, also called Heather Mills, claiming the established name's work as her own. When Mills got a column in Britain's leading Sunday newspaper, she says Heather repeated the trick, declaring Mills' report on poverty, prisons and injustice to be her work.

Heather was soon rambling in the small London media world, the TV producer's partner had worked with the real Mills only the week before. How on earth did she think she could get away with it? According to the "other" Heather Mills, Heather stuck to her guns for over a year, displaying a childlike, almost painful cognitive dissonance. There's an underlying psychosis in the disturbed, struggling, unadvised woman sitting in her sister's requested courtroom for standing up for those who can't stand up for themselves. Not identity theft is a calculated act of piracy, not a pitiable offence. To Heather, there's a sense with a woman she admired was a chance of self-protection too good to miss. Repetition in appropriating the name and analogous to memory was a defence against an unwanted experience, an advertisement in the old English tradition of Moll Flanders or Emily Sharp.

And while the British public was digesting that, an unsigned document containing a torrent of compliments about Paul was leaked to the press. He was calm, dignified, selfless, selfless and dominating, it alleged. He got drunk regularly, hit her, knocked her over, choked and assaulted her, pouring wine over her head and jolting the nose of his broken wingless on her arm.

Nor was Heather the only victim of Paul's temper. He stopped her from breastfeeding their baby, declaring, "I don't want a mouthful of breast milk." Meanwhile, her request for a chamber pot under the bed, to save a nighttime trip to the bathroom on her hands and knees when her prosthetic limb wasn't on, were dismissed with scorn. Paul also refused to let her cook one meal for their daughter and himself, exposing her to prepare two dinners every night, one for him alone. Paul snarled from this as a domestic tyrant straight out of Victorian melodrama. It's all turned horribly soon, and the great British public is loving every second of it. But as the yellow tips of British journalism slipped to the bedroom keyhole looking for more, the British also scored under issues of public interest.

Did the British media break the law in their eagerness to publish those accusations? When some newspapers, TV stations and news outlets refused to deliver the allegations piping hot, they did so in defiance of the Judicial Proceedings (Regulation of Reports) Act. Of 1926, which restricts all reporting of divorce to names, addresses, occupations, points of law and a couple's statements. It's a couple's own plans. How did they get away with it? According to media lawyer Duncan Lennard, divorce couples are not awarded the protection of the 1926 rule, if they can be held to have already revealed their own privacy, or put their lives in the public domain. Inevitably, Lennard says this exemption was created when John Lennon tried and failed to stop his first wife, Cynthia, from publishing details of their marriage breakdown.

And who leaked the lurid details before the 11 pages reached the High Court? Who was the mystery woman who tapped into a London cocaine room, and forced the doors from Heather's divorce dossier to the national press? Heather's solicitor previously represented Diana in the 1992 divorce, while Paul's acted for Prince Charles. Both British men that uniquely British combination of wealth, class, discretion and unappealing professional as well as a history of badness, thuggery and scandal. Would one of them have leaked the pictures to some early advantage?

It's possible. But who knew for Not Paul. He's already on the back foot with no money owed to his name. The English people seemed him to think that a sexy and sophisticated 36-year-old was involved in her, not in his face, status and cash? However, he'd overlooked Heather's previous career of self-promotion and self-annihilation, and believe the world focus on him, as Linda did?

When they got together, Heather was pinched as the hurry wheeled Paul in male over the body of The Family and friends, and perhaps a mad professional. If that were, a broken Paul looked pale, weak and less period. It wasn't his decision, and he begged Heather on them all through the door of his will, then he was shivering, deluded and vain. Was this why he refused a pre-nuptial agreement, because he believed that every-

PAUL MCCARTNEY: GARY STAFF

MAGNETS: NOV. 27/08

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thing was going to be single, or if it won't, that he could control it? Or was it a purely financial calculation, since pre-nups are not generally enforceable in English courts?

Looking back already, Paul is just likely to have made it worse for himself. It was in Heather? She's currently the most conspicuous single and originally almost women in the whole of the U.K. Does she need any addition to the stress and strain?

It's true that Heather is doing weird things now. Gossip early about the large black bag the camera everywhere and parks in a government place in the upper-very-very the name? She's certainly making completely outrageous considerations of the reporters and photographers at her door every time she leaves the house.

But taking control of part of the picture of her life. Rushing her or having reality and convenience truth in the process, as she does, is the classic response of a strong, young character to adverse events. From birth, her determination to break out of her poor background and her odds with a clean ride in society helps in keeping the house and in fighting these battles formed in her as an

adult, raised his children and helped his businesses. Career was essentially a demand to pay Caroline £10.5 million. And last May, just a week after Heather and Paul separated after only four years of marriage, Britain's highest court sent a shudder down the spines of every wealthy man when it awarded Melissa Miller £5 million of her ex-husband's £77 million net, even though their marriage collapsed before its third anniversary. The law lords reasoned that Melissa had a "reasonable expectation" that her life of luxury would continue, even if her first marriage didn't. Also, specifically for Heather, they cited Melissa's husband's actions—he'd cheated on her—as a factor in determining the award.

Heather too is seeking a settle meat. This will be decided not on the basis of her needs but on the basis of her needs and her wealth. But she's got a struggle on her hands. English law, built on centuries of precedents, is more inherently based in the favour of the male. And when the man has the name, the money and the place in the world, she's up against a powerful machine. To win her due, she needs to come out of the box with a bang.

Could she have looked the way Paul has lost a pre-emptive strike, against her real

world? Heather to be at her best and call, to have his donor on the table and to stop feeding the baby when he demands her at her, he'd be just the same as any other ungenerous walking-doll. Heather who sees his wife as an adjunct to himself, as a girl angry when she falls down on the job.

Some witnesses have already declared for Heather along these lines, describing Paul as selfish and over-protective. London's luxury agency and opera Peter Pan, who worked with Linda on her vegetarian recipe books, diets to have been frequently in touch after Paul's buy-out, and made plans for her talking of leaving him. But the hearing there's already? The wedding? The changes that he's asked Linda to? These allegations are likely to be set against some of Heather's other claims, such as the story in her autobiography, *A Single Step*, that as a child she and another girl had been kidnapped and molested by a paedophile. This prompted the lawyer for the real victim to come forward to say that the attack had happened to Heather's childhood friend, not to her. Similarly, Heather had written that her mother had lost a leg in a car accident, when she'd been seen slipping road on two in the road, or what? "Barking?" one London woman who later produced a letter with

IT'S TRUE HEATHER'S DOING WEIRD THINGS. GOSSIP SWIRLS AROUND HER LARGE BLACK BAG.

most sceptical ability to test careers stands to her advantage, convincing people she had been a top model when she was never more than a top model type. Later she showed a flair worthy of Richard Nixon in converting a disaster into something that would advance her in the world, using the devastating loss of a leg to raise her profile and propel her into a high-velocity charity work, where she met Paul.

And in the struggle with Paul, she needs to set the stakes very high. In the past, British divorce courts have traditionally favoured the male so much that the polygamous crop magazine of the U.S., Robert Dier, moved to Britain to divorce his wife in 1996 and hang on his cash. Few places in the West now will treat divorced women as winners. And Spencer, Diana's brother, managed to find one where the divorcee could finally to South Africa. When he divorced his wife, Victoria, he parted with only £2 million of his £80-million-odd net, so to a spouse who was the mother of his four children, including his son and heir. But for most megamillionaires, Britain does just fine.

Chicago it is in the 1996 divorce of Caroline and Tereza Carman, Habitat founder and design guru, the international businessman offered his wife £2.5m, or just one-fortieth of his fortune, after three decades of marriage, during which she had borne his



HEATHER MILLER, age 18, in a school photograph; Paul as the model, 1966; McCartney's official premier couple in 2000; the engaged couple in Hollywood in 2002

son in 1982. Highly unlikely. At a stake, she's been forced to show her hand. She's played all her cards while Paul's are still in the pack. And it won't help her even if the press let her allegations free.

Is that possible? Paul is idealized in a modern-day Moses, a pillar of 21st-century British culture, heritage, and a Living National Treasure. But Paul has lived in Paul World for so long that he's able to have and do anything he wants. And Paul World quickly named into Very Rich Man's World, where no one says "yarn." Paul has never forgotten where he came from, and he's never had to change. So inside, he may well be an unrepentant Northern male, who only played as friendly because he loved his wife. If he

As Heather thrashes around, Paul is quietly gone on the charm offensive to regain his "good boy" image. The media view the marriage as a triumph of his own, for the *For Men* ("Behold My Heart") is a piece inspired by Linda, followed by a relaxed and dignified radio interview. Last week, obliging as ever, he topped his car in New Jersey to grow an important press conference in response to the excitement as he drove through a residential neighbourhood. "Oh my God, it's Paul McCartney!" one woman cried. "I was, and it will be. Business is still hot." With the divorce proceedings under way, Paul has applied to trademark his name, opening the door to a wide range of McCartney clothing and footwear. "I hope" Marc

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cash in the till. But not for Heather. She will be out of Paul's financial life by the time the patent is approved.

As settlement day approaches, Paul's legal team will be hoping for more dignified behaviour on Heather's side. By an age-old British tradition going back to Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, where the discarded wife is to be treated with modesty in the attic, any wife as the head marriage can be disgraced to reduce the husband's responsibility for the marriage breakdown, and by extension, for her. This tactic was used to great effect against Diana, when Charles

was in the till. But not for Heather. Paul got his hands on all the Taliban long ago. So whatever she does, Heather can't win. No one believes when she says about Paul, and even if the press is on-tune, the public's verdict is likely to be that she must have driven him to it. Beyond that, there's an even sadder reality for Heather: the normal sadness of the love never lost. From the very beginning, she never held the place in Paul's life she thought it'd seem, and so deeply carved that married life was overshadowed by two dependent spirits, two potent, lingering presences. For who will Paul think of on his deathbed? Not Heather, for sure. Never had

THE COUPLE with the Queen at an exhibition of McCartney's paintings, Heather Mills McCartney with daughter Beatrice, McCartney's surprise appearance in New Jersey on Nov. 7



PAULWORLD QUICKLY BECAME VERY RICH MAN'S WORLD

found the Michael Somers leading the chorus that was selling Diana's "historical" and "unhinged," and warning that hell hath no fury like a dogmatist scorned. It worked. By welcoming Diana, Charles's lawyers reportedly reduced her settlements from her original claim of \$10 million to \$2.5 million, changing change to a man as rich as Charles.

Heather found the same control flow in her marriage, too. As a desperately deprived and driven woman craving out a public profile with every ounce of manipulation she could muster, there was nothing a marriage was man who was accustomed to being the centre of attention himself: two stars in one orbit, two interlocking systems in collision, and finally two women falling down the same black hole as unwanted wives. In another reminder of Diana, Heather is reportedly planning to give a big TV interview, going for the sympathy vote. She won't get it. Despite all her trust problems, Diana was the Taliban princess,

this divorce is for Paul, it can never be as painful as his divorce from John Lennon, when he lost his true other ego, his mate and soul-mate, his writing partner, his inspiration and his guru. Nothing he has written after the Beatles approaches the work with John. Then there was Linda, "Car Mouse" in Paul's anxious embrace. So Heather spent her brief married life in a losing battle against two opponents, the screaming John and the ethereal Linda, hovering over the home she shared with Paul.

So for Heather, what next? Face there's the divorce, with all its rivers of anguish and its flow. For the future, there's her life ahead with daughter Beatrice, though Paul's money and power will always overshadow anything she can do. And then? When she was a child, Heather burned to be someone with a white hot flame, someone world famous, glibly rich, fascinating and drop-dead glamorous, all the things she is now. How was she to know they would come at such a price?



STOP THE PRESSES MADONNA AND SEEDINESS

On Oct. 31, the Globe and Mail ran the following correction: "Ben Mulroney wanted to see whose funding from UNICEF for Malawi's malnourished children from Madonna, were going." A few days later, after publishing a quote from Ottawa's premier and civic political candidate Joe Day that said, "I run a little steady state in the Globe," the Ottawa Citizen ran a correction: "Ben Boyd owns a CD store in the Globe."

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A CHRISTIAN PENTECOSTAL church in Brooklyn, N.Y.; Radical Christianity, says Rosie O'Donnell, is as threatening as radical Islam

Code word: God bless America

According to a spate of recent tomes, the Christianist takeover of the U.S. is imminent

BY MARK STEEN

Mean and mean, I wonder what an infatuation it is, any of it. This Rosie O'Donnell. The other day, one of her co-hosts on *The View* was making some comment and said, "If you could offend him and you want to talk about what is going on there you have to..."

And at this point Rosie interrupted. "One word. Radical Christianity is just as threatening as radical Islam in a country like America where we have a separation of church and state."

Does she really believe that? That "radical Christianity" is "just as threatening" as "radical Islam"? These words are impossible to follow. You get the feeling that to Rosie O'Donnell, "radical Christianity" is pretty much Christianity—or at any rate any Christianity—disseminated without an openly gay bishop. Still, it's hard to imagine any Rosie would find "just as threatening" by an evangelical Protestant church opening up next door as they say a Wal-Mart store.

But who knows? The left's preference for phony enemies over real ones is such a feature of the current scene one assumes that for her there is at least a sliver to be genuine. To the likes of Miss O'Donnell, "radical Christianity" offers opportunities for moral equivalence theory: even when the Cold War Pierre Hauser of the Center for International Studies and Research got the ball rolling shortly after 9/11. "It's necessary to say, 'We're the force of good,'" he scoffed. "We're winning through the battle of the born-again. Bush the born again Christian, bin Laden the born again Muslim."

And, if that's the choice, the leftists know where side they're on. Plugging my own

book in the Great Satan is a sure loser. I've taken to *drugging* by the local Borders or Barnes & Noble to go to check if the thing's in stock. And praise the Lord (if there will forgive the expression), you can usually find it in their case-holds, though you often have to just a huge from table display of tomes about the imminent Christianist takeover of America: *The Takeover: Secular America Under Siege* by Dennis Lasker, *Kingdom Coming: The Rise of Christian Nationalism* by Michael Goldberg, *American Theocracy* by Kevin Phillips, or "Christianity," by the way, is a re-enactment of Tim's Andrew Sullivan, and has even made it on to the *Conservative* and also addresses some of these questions. Dennis Lasker's book is the funniest, albeit unintentionally. "Theocrats" are like neo-cons, only not Jewish but sincere Catholics with a well-advanced plan to convert America's conservatives for a political project that will transform the nation beyond recognition. They were the ones who spotted George W. Bush as the perfect moose for their Clinton snout and then surrounded him with Jews to confirm the credit. Oh, sure, he's a lousy. But it's hard not to warm to a teacher who denounces the United States "the world's God-instigated hegemon" with such explicit plebeian common sense.

Now, other than that, Lasker's book is a

rather lame attempt at scare-mongering. A few years ago, he used to work at Richard John Neuhaus's magazine *First Things*. Some, where along the way, he and Father Neuhaus fell out. Lasker, I'm afraid, decided that his old boss was waging a "hush" campaign" to inflict upon the U.S. "a future in which American politics and culture have been irreversibly purged of secularism," and in which the combination will be reverent to bring a new law with "the moral and small world view of the Vatican." That's quite the unflattering American religiosity is for the most part entirely on-Rosen, and Father Neuhaus himself finds the evangelists a bit of a bore, what with their "forced happiness and joy" and "total mess." But so for the conspiracy theory to be going swimmingly, with the Supreme Court claiming to have discovered a constitutional right to sodomy, and in the meantime in Massachusetts having legalized gay marriage. That's exactly the kind of an imagination you'd expect from those theists to come up with to show the rest of us off the scene.

By now, the alert reader will have spotted that Lasker's book is called *The Takeover—re: phoned*. So it can't be down to Father Neuhaus, sinister though he is. So Lasker runs around for a few sidekicks in the plot to wipe out secular America, well, even across Michael Novak, Robert P. George and George Weigel. I like a conspiracy theory as much as the next chap, but Weigel is an un-

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FINALLY A BOOK ABOUT...THE BAYDUX TAPESTRY

The famous, 70-millimetre medieval embroidery cloth account at the Museum of England has had a colorful modern history too, according to Howard Bloch's *A Needle in the Right Hand of God* (Random House). During the French Revolution, ministers wrapped an armchair in it. Only the first reaction of a local lawyer who swapped a bolt of canvas for it, saved one of Europe's greatest cultural artifacts from a probable fiery end.



books



PROOF of the thesaur takeover, says our author, can be found in how President Kennedy concluded a 1962 Cuban crisis address.

Italy pay on which to hang it. He's the author of an excellent biography of the new Pope, *God's Chosen*, and also of one of my favorite books of recent years, often volume called *The Cube and the Cathedral*. The title concerns two Puritan landmarks—the cathedral of Notre Dame and the puritanist must cube of La Grande Arche de la Défense, commissioned by President Mitterrand to mark the bicentenary of the French Revolution. As La Grande Arche boasts, the entire cathedral, including spires and tower, would easily fit inside the cold geometry of Mitterrand's cube. And that's the question Weigel's



NOTRE DAME Cathedral and La Grande Arche de la Défense

book addresses: *intimida Europa, how did the cube (the star) open to allow the cathedral the church?*

Which is, of course, the exact opposite of Derrida's thesis—that, thanks to Weigel and others, in America the church is about to swallow the state. Of these two scenarios, one has already happened, and the other seems to have been concocted out of thin air by apocalyptic lefties. As proof of how advanced the thesaur takeover is already, *Letter studies* is to consider the difference between two speeches in 1962, which address to the nation during the Cuban missile crisis. President Kennedy concluded with the scrupulously non thesauric "Good night." But in 2001, in his address to the nation after Sept. 11, President Bush had the effrontery to ask the Lord to "bless the souls of the de-

parted" and to wrap things up with "God bless America." "Something has happened to the United States during the past four decades," concluded Larkin, drink.

At the risk of offending Larkin, *God Almighty* has to be as anything happened during those four decades, it was the project was hatched from public schools, the separation of church and state became an ever wider chasm, and Americans deserted mainline Protestant denominations for evangelical churches. In other words, the occasional attempt to purge religion from the public square drove many Americans toward more

effective vehicles for their faith. As for the difference between the 1962 and 2001 speeches, it's simple: those 1,000 "souls of the departed." Indeed, to attempt to acknowledge the deceased without invoking the deity would have sound of very weird, as vivid as that how 5000 memorial in Derrida which (reach to Larkin's case presumably) to avoid

all mention of God. Or as noted as the political correctness by European politicians to reference the Gospels's Christian heritage in the preamble to the EU's constitution (which rejected). A former Swedish deputy prime minister discussed the proposal as "silly," a French socialist called it "absurd," Scandinavian's largest newspaper said it would be a "huge mistake."

The post-Christian Europe George Weigel writes about is a flag it is the spiritual vacuum into which Islamism has poured. But the radically Christian thesaur takeover of America is a ludicrous fantasy. Yet it's the letter begging the prime real estate in bookstores across the land. The most case of this thesaur new role genre is a maze telling comment on the times than anything in the books themselves. ■

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by Stuart McLean
- 3 **DENRO'S GARE** by Rose Hage 1.0
- 4 **WHAT CAME BEFORE HE SHOT HER** 9.12
by Elizabeth George
- 5 **THE OTHER SIDE OF THE REID** 9.12
by Mary Loeven
- 6 **THE FRIENDS OF MEASUR** 9.12
by David Adams Richards
- 7 **THE CUSTODIAN OF PARADISE** 9.12
by Wayne Johnston
- 8 **THE VIEW FROM CASTLE ROCK** 9.12
by John McEwan
- 9 **THE THIRTIETH TALE** 7.02
by David Sedaris
- 10 **MESSENGER SONG** by John Le Carré 10.12

Non-fiction

- 1 **THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THE FRANKLIN BOLD** 9.12
by David Sedaris
- 2 **THE UNFOLD OF DOWN** 1.02
by Thomas Mann (Sharon)
- 3 **THE GOD OF US** 9.12
by Richard Dawkins
- 4 **RIGHT SIDE UP** by Paul Wells 1.0
- 5 **NODIN IN CHINA** 1.02
by Margaret Macdonald
- 6 **THE INNOVATIVE MAN** by John Gribben 1.0
- 7 **THROUGH THE CHILDREN'S GATE** 9.12
by Adam Gopnik
- 8 **CITIZEN OF THE WORLD** 9.12
by John Gribben
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by Nora Roberts
- 10 **HEART MATTERS** 9.12
by Anthony Clark



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LOOK ON OSCAR BUZZ: In *For Your Consideration* (clock left) Christopher Royman, Harry Shearer, Catherine O'Hara and Parker Posey

Dizzy with delusions of Oscar glory

Catherine O'Hara lays it on the line in a rich satire that pokes fun at Hollywood vanity

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

By now it seems official that *Best: Cultural Learnings of America for Make-Believe Children of the Nation* is the comedy of the year. One of the funniest death scenes ever made, *Best* has intelligent critics trying themselves in knots trying to explain why it's perfectly safe to laugh along with Sacha Baron Cohen's sociological satire of American ignorance through the eyes of an anti-Semitic boor. But for *For Your Consideration*, there's a sense of déjà vu. We've seen Rick Moran pull off a more mild-mannered version of the same hoax in his Talking To Americans series. And the whole mockumentary conceit is one that Canadian SCTV veterans Eugene Levy and Catherine O'Hara helped pioneer with director Christopher Gann in movies like *Waiting for Guffman*, *Best in Show* and *A Mighty Wind*. Their latest picture, *For Your Consideration*, is a film within a film that makes comic fodder of Judaism, American celebrity and foolish ambition—much like *Best*. But it could not be more different.

Best is a one-man tour-de-force, a heroic road movie about a man in slapstick terror. (Cohen's Cohen is a risk taker, it's a revelation in American post-9/11 formula. And for sheer belly laughs, you can't beat *Best* and his obese producer waddling naked on the beach of Pamela Anderson. *For Your Consideration* is the anti-*Best* comedy, a modest quilt of needling caricatures created by an ensemble that works as an impeccable team. And although Gann is American, this movie (which Levy co-wrote) is a dry, character-based comedy closer to the English, and Canadian, tradition.

As with all of Gann's vehicles, from *The*

Special Tap on down, the wit is cut with the profound painful recognition: a bunch of awkward losers struggle to make decisions of dignity against mounting evidence to the contrary. O'Hara plays Marilyn Hark, a failed actress starring in a small and propulsive period drama called *Prime for Perse*—about a Jewish family in Georgia that explodes on the occasion of the dying mother's favorite holiday. During the shoot, there's Oscar buzz on the Internet surrounding Hark and her co-stars—a former hot-dog pusher (Harry Shearer) and an ingenue (Parker Posey). The media sniffs out a sleeper hit. And *How for Panam's* screenwriters are horrified when the president of Saifish Classics (Rick Gervais) demands a rewrite: "Just turn down the Jewishness so everybody can enjoy it."

For Your Consideration has an uphill battle: smacking an industry that's already a living caricature. Since *The Player* and *Gore's* own *The Big Picture*, Hollywood seems to have become another showbiz cliché. But what does Gann's lively detailed comedy have to do with "reality"? *For Your Consideration* is the acting. They're an actor who does with wit and wit of Oscar glory. O'Hara pulls off a performance that is, dare we say, Oscar-worthy.

At Toronto's film festival, when I began our interview joking that there was "Oscar buzz" about her performance, O'Hara rolled

her eyes. Family members had already used that on her. But this questioner, considering who's capable of making her dreams reality, says the role "is infinitely close to home—and the closer to yourself that you think you're playing, the harder it is."

While Gann's storylines are meticulously planned, dialogue is improvised on occasion, which requires a certain talent, and she ability to inhabit a character. "I always take it really seriously," says O'Hara. "When you're improvising, you're not outside of it, and you're not commenting on it. You're true to that character. You have to be. Otherwise you're just watching other people work."

O'Hara has attended the Oscars with her husband, Gervais, who's received four nominations for an director. "Luckily it's always early to the show," she says. "Then you go to the loser's lounge, the bar downstairs. The only time all the nominees get together is the Oscar luncheon. You have five minutes to mill, then they clap their hands—'Get your towel and sit down!' The rest of the afternoon is being told how to make a short speech, and what kind of speech not to make. I'm not laughing just thinking about it."

End of year *Best*, and unfairly hilarious, they should give O'Hara an Oscar—just so we can see her give the kind of speech she's not supposed to make. ■

ON THE WEB: Visit Brian D. Johnson's blog at www.macleans.ca/bdjohnson



WE'RE STALKING DENISE RICHARDS

In the Vancouver area to film a new movie, *Blonde* and director, the star was asked to encounter two prospects she despises. Richards reportedly flew into a fury and grabbed two laptops belonging to the cinematographer and hauled them off a balcony at the River Sky Casino in Richmond. The outburst plunged one flight and hit an 80-year-old woman in a wheelchair. The victim was only slightly injured and declined to press charges.



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MARK SCHACHOWSKI (left) and Andrew Penner, whose band is the Surferosa Players, sat in Sunday school when they were five.

Indie rock served up with basil jelly

Not a lot of bands sing about tomato farming and Mennonites. Or make their own preserves.

BY SHARDA DICKEL • What's the most farm-to-table equivalent of a garage band? A barn band, say Andrew Penner and Mark Schachowsky. And they played in plenty of barns growing up in Leamington, Ont., in the two-to-growing area near the Windsor Detroit border, popularly referred to as the Sun Pailow. "We recorded that one using nothing but a mic," says Schachowsky, "or a saw. It got in by accident and it worked so well it's in it." I remember my buddy was writing on his T-shirt something in the back: "Penner jokes."

A decade after buying down that truck, The Wreck of Jody, his adult's barn, the pair, who met in Sunday school when they were five, live in Toronto. They've formed the Sun Pailow Players, a band inspired by the likes of the Carter Family and Van Halen. If there's any one off, think of a two men Arcade Fire with more banjo. Their mutual love of heavy rock shows up only once in a while, and mostly in how hard and fast they can play their instruments. A real do-it-yourself band, the Surferosa Players released their debut CD, *Myopia for the Mappy*, this past summer in local record stores, on iTunes and through their website (surferosaplayers.com). They've toured Ontario and Montreal and plan to hit other provinces and the U.S. in the new year. And indie labels are showing interest. But for now, the guys will be keeping their day jobs, which afford each of them another kind of mission—Schachowsky is a genetic scientist at the Hospital for Sick Children, and Penner's a part-time shoe store owner at Union Station. In fact, he's rumored to be Kevin Mulvey's (Sheryl's former drummer). Many things are the Surferosa Players apart from their jets, but the most telling sign is how they hearen back to a slow plat-

form and place by translating their Mennonite religious upbringing into music that resonates with even the most modern urbanite. Penner started out by imitating hair-metal as "son and Joe blue, country and jazz," when rock was starting to swirl, he says, "before it came together in the '80s." Literally, he turned to his room. "I was looking back at where we grew up, making folkies out of a place that you love. I could have never done this if I was still in that area. I had to be completely separated."

The CD has very specific references to tomato farming (which Penner's father does), with nods to Leamington's large population of Mexican labourers (They keep working hard, to send a little money home / In Mexico is where their family sends me silver / But, now the Sun Pailow is where they call their home). And many of the songs refer to the pair's Mennonite religion and community, including *People's Anthem* (I don't fight, I don't war / I might believe in things that you don't think are real) and *Open Today* (I just don't feel like praying today / My friends are sore and my church is a bore). That's mean God that you'll hear on most indie rock albums, but the Surferosa Players inject a healthy amount of skepticism, questioning faith and feelings of nostalgia. "Sometimes it comes out very positive," says Penner, 28. "But it's

not a completely glowing look back."

Penner and Schachowsky dress the part of strict, traditional Mennonites while on stage—dark suits, purple hats and bandana headbands. But both grew up in modern households. "My dad was a jeweller," says Schachowsky, 26. "That's the furthest thing from traditional Mennonites." Penner's parents kept up with the times, too. "My dad's got an armada of tractors on his farm," he says. "It's not horses plowing the field and stuff." And Penner's dad had pretty secular musical tastes. Besides Bob Dylan, Neil Young and the Stanley Brothers, he liked Abba, Cher and the big pop group the Pogues. ("They was a lot, though," he told his son.)

Even at a small club in Toronto, a Sun Pailow Players live show can feel like a high energy revival-meets-experience. There's the two-man cawphony—Penner plays harmonica, organ pedal, a strap-belt to his left shoe and stomps on a resonator, while Schachowsky plays drums, the bass, a gluck-cupped and accordion, often all in one song. And both can go on forever, playfully discussing the lyrics as they roll. Then they'll take a break and riffle off preserves they've prepared themselves. Penner's best married as a couple passed down from his grandmother: Schachowsky's preserves are weird, he admits. "I make Jolly ones, like a red onion basil jelly—it's definitely not blended down from grandparents." But it still adds a valuable old-timey touch to their rock 'n' roll. ■



PRETULDA... HAS SOMETHING TO SAY
I've shared my life in a cage / Freedom left in my face / It was such a disaster / And I was lonely / Burnt out and empty / Desperate / I had my mind to a mess / I had nothing to lose / And enough of abuse / So now I'm dangerous / Hate's so contagious / It owns us / I'm angry / I'm raging / I'm breaking through the pain / The monster's loose—born from the monster is loose on the east of Hell it will burn by Desmond Child, Nikki Fox and John K.



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NATO, which just arrived in Denver and is slated to tour the U.S., is about a 50-year-old woman who insists life is still worth living.

Ladies in silly hats: the musical

Cats was for everybody, but bankable shows these days are ones that target niche markets

BY JAMES A. WEIDMAN • Musicals are traditionally made to reach the broadest possible audience. A show like *Oklahoma!* or *Cats* brought in everyone from liberal urbanites to southern franchise homeowners. Butcher's back the way most entertainment is marketed today. Some new musicals, on stage and screen, are going not for a wide audience but for a particular age group or cultural profile. Even if that audience happens to be a bunch of middle-aged ladies in silly hats.

Some background: for years, the Red Hat Society, a U.S.-based club whose members are mostly women over 40, has been dedicated to the idea that life is more fun for women who dress elegantly. But they decided that it wasn't enough to be glamorous, they wanted to be producers. And they came up with *Hat! A New Musical* for the Red Hat Society, paid for by the society, mostly to entertain its own members.

The show, which just opened in Denver and is slated to tour the U.S., is a sort of answer to the group that commissioned it: it's about a 50-year-old woman who learns, thanks to the society and songs by people like Kathie Lee Gifford, that life is still worth living. Carol Yerin, director of marketing for the group, explains that the show "has lots of social things, anywhere from breast cancer to 'empty nesting' to just going on and having fun and celebrating life in multiple ways."

Hat! isn't the first musical to target women whose children have moved out; there's already been *Respect: A Musical Journey of Women* and, of course, *Menopause: The Musical*. And though both insist that "it's appealing to women of all ages, as well as men," these are definitely musicals where men are not the primary audience. "The men were

saying 'Well, we're heroes,'" explains Yerin. "We're taking our wives to a great evening. It's enjoying it, they're enjoying it."

These aren't the only musicals to have been made for a particular segment of the public. Another, better-known example is *High School Musical*, a made-for-TV production that aired on the youth-oriented Disney Channel and then became a No. 1 seller on DVD. As the title suggests, it isn't aiming for anybody over the legal drinking age. You might not think that the gender would work, since kids aren't thought of as a target audience for musicals. Broadway audiences, after all, tend to have a median age closer to Red Hat Society levels. But the director of *High School Musical*, Kenny Dregg (who also directed an earlier kid-friendly musical for Disney, *Newsies*), managed to pull it off as well that he's working on a sequel. For the first time since the '60s, when *Amos 'n' Andy* and *Frankie Avalon* covered in *Beach Party* movies, there are successful musicals aimed solely at kids.

Most musicals don't have become kind of success these days as the kids, specifically targeted ones. The big-budget film version of *Phantom of the Opera*, the ultimate movie musical, lost money for Warner Bros. while *High School Musical* was making the Disney Company even richer. On Broadway, big, niche-targeted productions

underperform compared to shows like *The Grapes of Wrath*, which assumes that its audience is familiar with the conventions of 1930s musicals in trying to appeal to everyone, many mistakes these days wind up pleasing no one. It's not that producers can't find a specific audience, at least the producers can't find that audience will like it.

And if a niche isn't in the target audience, the producers can afford to ignore him or her. Two years ago, a Vancouver theater performed *Tomorrow's Women*, a musical written and performed in the style of Chinese theatre. It used all kinds of theatrical tropes that might not be comprehensible to anyone who didn't know Chinese stage traditions, the opening of the show, with passionate music and music effects, struck Vancouver critic Lesanne Campbell as comparable to "Henry and the Game" after she wrote that the author of the show, who happened to be an owner of the theater, thanked her that she was "no longer welcome in either a reviewer or a patron"—but then, the show wasn't supposed to be for her anyway.

It's not customary for musicals to go out of their way to exclude people. Though *Flower Drum Song* was about Chinese characters, and *Flubber* on the *Boyz n the Moz* was about Jews, these shows didn't target only those groups. But an assumption has changed since then. In a time when every TV executive studies the demographic charts, why shouldn't theatre producers do the same? ■



PERFORMANCE OF THE WEEK: FIRE DANCING

The Fire Arts Festival in Oakland, Calif., recently featured an adaptation of the video game *Dance Dance Revolution*, but with a hot twist. Interpretive Arise created Dances Divine, a musical, in which comedians rated participants' dancing and gave them either words of encouragement or brutal criticism. The worst dancers were punished with blasts of flames from propane tanks. Fortunately, dancers also got to wear protective fire suits.

MACLEAN'S READERS' CHOICE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE YEAR IN HEALTHCARE

Who made the most significant contribution to healthcare in 2006?

Dr. Hertzberg Gerstein

Research team leader at McMaster University on medication for slowing the progression from pre-diabetes to diabetes. This is a promising development for "belly boomers" who are approaching the most common age for the onset of Type 2 diabetes.

Dr. Marco Marra

Team leader with BC Cancer Agency's Genome Sciences Centre, for his contribution to the international Bovine Sequencing Project. Dr. Marra's team mapped 25,000 clones containing bovine DNA, to better understand Mad Cow and other diseases, and to enhance the nutritional value of beef and dairy products.

Dr. Frank Plummer

Scientific Director of the National Microbiology Laboratory, Winnipeg, for research studying Africans who have an immune-system response resistant to the HIV virus, providing the building blocks for nearly 25 new vaccines and leading to the possible use of preventative microbicide gels.

Heather Crowe

A non-smoker who, before dying of lung cancer on May 22, 2006, led a high-profile campaign to eliminate exposure to second-hand smoke in the workplace. She is credited with influencing politicians to amend labour legislation and impose greater restrictions on smoking in public places.

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"ONE DAY I was eating raw chicken livers out of a jar," says a fitness coach, "and a couple of my friends just got up from the table and left."

How would I like my steak? Raw.

People on the caveman diet eat their meat uncooked. Some think they're 'a little off.'

BY AMY BOKER • Merin Flaxman, proprietor of the Healthy Rancher in Toronto, is talking about some of his regular customers: "They come several times a week and every time they buy they eat raw." That includes organic chickens, game meats like elk and bison, and organic liver, kidneys, and pancreas—at the Healthy Rancher they've blended it raw to create a "liver shake." One of Flaxman's customers will even "grab some ground meat, open the bag and start popping it like potato chips on the way to the cash."

There may be a new diet boom every day, but it's not every day that a diet fad takes its cues from the prehistoric era. Alternatively known as the Stone Age diet, the caveman diet, the primal diet, or the hunter-gatherer diet, the paleolithic diet looks back—way back—for its eating cues.

What's on the menu? The rules are simple: eat only what was available to early hunter-gatherers, meaning foods that are edible raw. So on the "yes" list: meat (including organ), fish, fats, vegetables (excluding potatoes and root potatoes), berries, and nuts (but no peanuts—a legume). On the "no" side: grains in all forms, beans, sugar, salt and dairy products (and/or raw). Basically, if the food can be sourced with bare hands (or rudimentary tools) and ingested without cooking or processing—chew bon appetit! "Surprisingly," says Flaxman, "the raw meat eaters actually look quite robust."

Rebekah (who asked that her last name be withheld) is a 32-year-old private fitness coach in Toronto who started on her paleolithic path following a trip to India after university. "When two weeks I started getting this intestinal thing, then I was on antibiotics for months. That cleared out all of my bad

bacteria, but also took the good with it." For the next two years she suffered from debilitating intestinal problems, eating only easily digestible foods. All of which, she says, would neutralize partially or kill any good. And then she discovered the teachings of Alanar Vonderplanck, the creator of the primal diet. Within a couple of days of being on it, "I had my first real bowel movement in a decade."

She's been eating raw for five years now. "A good day is a pound of steaming meat, the toughest cut from the shoulder. Tougher meat goes tougher inside." Typically she'll eat a pound of meat a day, uncooked and unadorned, but sometimes throws together a recipe, like dressing her organic beef with raw onion and scallions, or raw honey and cranberries. Blackman from Healthy Rancher has been vocal. "One day I was eating raw chicken livers out of a jar, and a couple of my friends just got up from the table and left."

Helen Farrow in Alberta raises and processes certified organic Alberta beef, which they sell through the Calgary Farmers' Market, as well as raw organic food items. "Many of the people who are on this raw meat diet," says Tim Hovon, "try not to promote it that much because people think they're a little off." One of Hovon's customers "buys a pound or two, then poisons it out

and discards it, and then reads. Personally, I'm not comfortable with it. A raw steak is about as raw as I like to go."

The first thing Toronto dietitian and nutritionist Rose Berkeoff can see when looking at the diet "is the chance that you could get really sick. We shouldn't drink unpasteurized milk in terms of bacteria, and we shouldn't be eating raw chicken or raw eggs because of salmonella. Cooking gets rid of that. Historically maybe we didn't have so, but now there's a small safety issue." Berkeoff does concede that there is something about following a very restrictive pattern of eating that can be good for some people, no matter what it is. "They're focused and motivated and careful about what they eat," she says. "The thought of raw liver just makes me sound really gross. But if you're eating it, at least you're getting lots of iron and some of protein." Still, "it's one thing to be focused and eating fruits and vegetables and nuts, but another to be eating raw meat, which is why I would totally be against this diet. Even, people will say, well, show me a chicken that has salmonella. But all you need is one to make you really sick."

Kelly, who mysteriously ate raw chicken breast, changed her mind, says that she never felt better like has a message for anyone: "I don't say anything to you about eating parts with bacteria and sauce, and then having accidents afterwards on the sidewalk. I think that's gross, but I don't say anything." ■



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ALAN J. GAGNE

1952-2006

It turns out the postman who was fanatical about delivering the mail took his work home with him

Alan J. Gagne was born in Saint-Albans, Vt., on April 2, 1952. He was the only child of Madeline and Adrian Gagne, a blacksmith and welder in nearby Swanton, about 120 km southeast of Montreal. Al's father's family was from the Quebec City area, but Adrian and Al changed the French pronunciation of their last name to "Gagne" after Adrian had a disagreement with the Church. According to Jeanette Tarte, Madeline's cousin, Al was "a delicate child," but so smart, he was "out of the ordinary." He attended both public school, where he skipped a grade, and high school at St. Joseph Academy, a Catholic school that closed in 1969. Then he went to the University of Vermont in Burlington, where he graduated with a B.A. in arts and sciences in 1974. Throughout high school and university, Al had a passion for collecting books; he left them at his parents' home, cranked high in the porch and in his room.

Al left Vermont to work as a courier agent for the U.S. immigration department at Boston's Logan Airport. After about 10 years, he switched to the postal service, becoming a letter carrier at the Courtyard Center Post Office in Brookline, Mass., an upscale suburb of Boston. Al always lived alone, but on his salary of about US\$40,000 a year, he rented apartments in The Linden, Brookline's trendy 1960s town. He never owned a car, but twice a year he took a few days off to visit his parents to their winter home in Orange City, Fla., and back again, in his father's Oldsmobile. Sometimes he would drive them in Swanton, although he would spend most of his time at the library.

Al met his closest friend Brian Day at the post office when they were both in their mid-thirties. Over the years, Brian says, he came to know Al as well as anyone did. Al never looked healthy, but he wouldn't go to a doctor, Brian says. He refused to talk about his personal life, or even have people over at his place. "Al was a fanatic about the mail," Brian says. His route took him nine hours to complete properly. Before he left for vacations, he would leave notes at the time clock at work with detailed instructions for his replacement so no one ever missed a letter.

"Al was also a fanatic about music," Brian says. "If anyone had a question going back to the 1950s, or forever, they would go to Al,

and 99 per cent of the time he would know the answer." As a recent retirement party, Al surprised his acquaintances by singing himself. "People were hearing these stomachs laughing because he put on a salsa show," Brian says. "I never would have guessed that he could do that. He knew all the lyrics without even looking."

Al also made a number of friends on his route. Elaine Search, a writer, got used to seeing him, often groaning under the weight of his 35 lb mailbag. "He always looked stressed," she says. "He was smallish and puny and he didn't always shower. Sometimes I wanted to rip his armpits off him and wash it." Julie Anderson, a psychologist who lives and works in the neighborhood, says, "With Al, you felt like it was a victory if you got a smile. He was clearly vulnerable but very guarded." Julie received a white dog named Lenka that is now as shy as Al. "He was pleased that she let him pet her," Julie says. Adds Elaine, "He was a man who needed a good woman."

Father Jack Ahern, the pastor at St. Mary of the Assumption Church in Brookline, where Al occasionally went to mass, laughs when he talks about Al and women. "One of his co-workers and Al was looking to begin dating and he told him he needed a new set of clothes and a haircut. Al wasn't something off a GQ cover." As far as anyone knew, Al never had a girlfriend. Still, says Father Jack, "He was exceedingly kind. If someone was standing for a few days, or the mail was piling up, he would knock on their door or leave a note. He did a lot of simple everyday nice things that sometimes people forget about." He also regularly took magazines and newspapers out of his neighbor's blue boxes.

On March 28, Al's mother Madeline died at 84. On Friday, Oct. 13, Al left work for lunch and never returned. He was found dead at 94 of a heart attack in his home. Along with the thousands of record albums and books, Father Jack says, there was an undisturbed mail, dating back to the 1950s, in his car and down all over the apartment. Most of it was junk. None of it was opened. Brian wonders if it could have been undeliverable mail the post office might have thrown out anyway. "The scary thing," says Father Jack, "is that he moved to this place two years ago. He brought it with him." Last week, Adrian, 95, went back to Orange City, Fla. Now.

BY BARBARA KINGTON



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